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ABSTRACT

One of the functions of the Governor's Office of Human Resources is that of gathering, analyzing, and distributing information on the extent, distribution and characteristics of the poverty population in Mississippi and the social, economic and demographic conditions which affect the poor. This lengthy document disburses that kind of information as it sets forth a great deal of material on the statistical descriptors of the state, its economy, population, parameters of cultural and social change and prospects which some of the changes may present for the future. Data on epidomology, familial composition, labor force characteristics, population processes and many other features of the state and her people are also included. The book is divided into three major sections: Part A presents resource material for program planning with chapters on conceptualization and measurement of poverty, county demographic data, and a Community Action Agency user guide and index. Part B centers on a demographic and economic profile of the state. Part C provides a demographic portrait of the Mississippi poor with chapters on the distribution and characteristics of the poor and agricultural and rural poverty. Appendices deal with poverty as it relates to inflation and present auxilliary statistical data. A specific objective of this document was to provide Community Action Agencies with readily available data required for their annual funding package. (DS)

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A DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI

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FOREWORD

Mississippi is a state in which dramatic change has taken place in recent decades. Our state is enjoying increasing progress and good reputation. During the administration of Governor Cliff Finch it became an express administration objective to expand the opportunity of every Mississipian to obtain gainful employment; to improve health care access and availability; to provide the safest and best living conditions possible for Mississipians in all walks of life; to provide mechanisms of care and assistance for those unable to care for themselves; to operate each program of state government at maximum effectiveness and minimum cost; to make it easier for succeeding administrations to build on current achievements with harmony and continuity.

Like other geographic areas, we have not solved all of our problems, and, like other areas, we will never solve them all, for the dynamics of human existence are such that change in one area, or amelioration of one problem, uncovers others which need solution. Nevertheless, we are not ignoring problems which have persisted from the past -- discrimination, poverty, illiteracy, high infant mortality -- and in each of these, as well as in many other interrelated social and economic problems, comparison of the Mississippi of today with the Mississippi of yesterday makes it apparent how far we have come.

Most Mississipians doubtless agree that improved quality-of-life conditions is a desirable goal. Not all will agree on just what changes and developments are desirable to this end, nor, even if agreeing on these, would all agree on the most appropriate method of achievement. Even the statistical presentation of the social and statistical facts of employment, income distribution, familial disorganization, etc., will bring forth differing interpretations and proposed remedies.

One function of the Governor's Office of Human Resources is that of gathering, analyzing, and distributing information on the extent, distribution, and characteristics of the poverty population in Mississippi, and the social, economic, and demographic conditions which affect the poor. A specific objective of this document is to provide Community Action Agencies with readily available data so that the county-wide community information requiredin their annual funding package can be gathered from this single source.

This document contains a great deal of material on the statistical descriptors of our state, its economy, its population, various parameters of cultural and social change, sometimes set within the background of our development out of the past, and the prospects which some of these changes may present for the future. Data on epidemology, familial composition, labor force characteristics, population processes, and many other features of our state and her people may be encountered here. A Demographic Analysis of Poverty in Mississippi is offered in the hope that this data will aid in the task of assessment and evaluation of what and where we are as a state, and in the process of resolution of where we want to go in the future, and how to get there.

Luther T. Brantley, Jr.
Director

PREFACE

A Demographic Analysis of Poverty in Mississippi is a revision and sequel to The Extent and Distribution of Poverty in Mississippi (1976) and Poverty in Mississippi: A Statistical Analysis (1977). Since publication of the above documents Survey of Income and Education (SIE) data on the statewide incidence of poverty has become available. This information, gathered in 1976 and based on economic status in 1975, allows some comparison in the statewide trends and characteristics of the poor in Mississippi during the first part of the decade of the seventies as well as comparison with other states in terms of the changes which have taken place. Also, feedback from CAA directors and planners as to specific data needs has resulted in an effort to more adequately meet the planning data needs of CAAs in terms of the specific types and breakdown of data needed.

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PART A -- RESOURCE MATERIAL
FOR PROGRAM PLANNING

CHAPTER ONE

CONCEPTUALIZATION AND MEASUREMENT OF POVERTY

Poverty: Past, Present, and Persistent

The settlement and history of America may be described as a war on poverty. [1]Cotton Mather, as one might expect from a representative spokesman of the Puritans,[2] "dreamed of a city in which each house would have an almsbox bearing the message, 'Think on the Poor'."[3] Whether motivated by platitudes of political expediency or sentiments of true idealism, government agencies or other elements of society have been active since before colonial days in anti-poverty programs. In Lens observation, "There has been no end of wars against poverty, both by official agencies and highly placed men of power."[4]

Lens has also spoken of the "endless capacity of poverty for reincarnation" as one of the remarkable features of American history. America has a deserved image as a land of promise. An eighteenth century immigrant noted concerning his fellow immigrants that "everything tends to regenerate them. . .here they become men" who in Europe "were so many useless plants. . .They were withered and were mowed down by want, hunger, and war; but. . .they have taken root and flourished."[5] As accurate as this truth may be, "concomitant with promise and wealth there has always been poverty in America, not only episodic and incidental, but extensive and deeprooted. . .poverty among the most determined and hard-working."

The fact is that "innumerable millions have remained mired in misfortune despite their most zealous efforts to climb out of their circumstance."[6] Theirs has been the poverty of some of the orphaned and the ill, the helpless or the semi-helpless, of the economically manipulated (the backwoodsman saddled with heavy mortgages, the nineteenth-century agararians saddled with heavy freight rates), the poverty of the propertyless worker, the landless "poor whites" attempting to eke out a living in bondage and servitude to the more fortunate, the colonial endentured servants, all of whom illustrate the capacity of poverty to reincarnate itself in various forms.

Poverty: New Forms, New Meanings

American culture has differed from most cultures in that the poor as groups--the ethnic groups and immigrants who reached America in the depths of poverty--have not remained poor. "The promise of a better day was inherent in America," Lens has written, "But in the process of laying stakes for future affluence the forefathers devised means for blighting the hopes, temporarily or for long periods, of tenants, endentured servants, and some frontiersmen. The boom of land made available in the new world offered opportunity to some but ended in a freezing out of many others."[7] And so it has been throughout American history.

The history of America may be thought of in terms of escape from poverty and immersion in it. "In England land is scarce and labor plenty, in Virginia land free and labor scarce," read a seventeenth century couplet. The opening up of new land in the Western Hemisphere provided the opportunity for human development which historian Walter Prescott Webb described as the "great boom" period for mankind. In America, the colonial era allowed some to become rich or richer because of opportunity to exploit the land; many, previously poor, were enabled to become independent yeomen combining the role of capital and labor in the same household, thereby escaping the economic and social servitude that would have been their lot in Europe.

At the same time, the circumstances and social structure of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries entrapped many into new forms of poverty.[8] History, Lens writes, seems to have moved in opposite direction simultaneously--relieving destitution for many formerly oppressed, creating new forms of oppression for those here. As poverty has died off in one form, it has shown an endless capacity for emerging in others. "What makes it all the more remarkable is that it has endured against innumerable and almost continuous antipoverty programs."[9] And, while the forms and the percentages have changed, there remains relative poverty amidst plenty today just as there was poverty against scarcity.

Some of the conceptual parameters in determing the definition, meaning, and significance of poverty are highlighted in the following discussion.

THE RELATIVITY OF POVERTY

Poverty is a Matter of Social Definition

A society of high productivity could possess such wealth that its poorest members enjoyed more affluence, comfort, and command over economic resources than members of another society where income might be evenly distributed, but wherein per capita production allowed only a subsistence level-of-living. The "poor" in the former society would enjoy higher levels-of-living than the comparatively well off in the latter. Similarly, the poor in the United States today are rich in contrast to their counterparts in other times and places. Most are not poor either in comparison with the subsistence levels common in some other countries nor like their counterparts in this country fifty or a hundred years ago. The relativity of poverty is illustrated by the following exchange.

> Not long before he died, Jawaharlal Nehru, prime minister of India, was embroiled in a debate with an old nemesis, Ramonohar Lohia, a Socialist member of parliament. Lohia charged that 260,000,000 people in that despairing country were existing on six cents a day. Nehru vehemently denied this claim as a "damn lie" - the figure, he said, was fifteen cents. The minister of planning took issue with both men, asserting that the true amount was ten cents a day. Clearly, in such a milieu a man who earned a dollar a day could be classed above a sociological poverty line. But what is "non poor" in India obviously is very poor in the United States, France, or Italy, where a man with an income so small is considered as poor as the proverbial church mouse.[10]

Ulmer has noted that "even the comfortable countries of Denmark and Holland, both of which probably hold that they have eliminated poverty, would be embarassed by the American standard, because judged by it, substantial proportions of their populations are poor."[11] It may be argued that from a consumer goods standpoint, such as possession of electric appliances, television, or automotive transportation, there is very little poverty in modern America.[12]

Poverty is Relative to Time and Place

It is readily apparent that the concept of who is and who is not poor and by what relative standard changes over time. Horton and Herman have observed that the poverty line changes as society becomes more affluent.[13] Expectations rise with the improvements in each generation. The television which was a luxury at one time becomes regarded as a necessity a decade or two later. Public recreation, antibiotic drugs, movies, radio, social security, indoor plumbing, provide the masses with benefits that could only be obtained by, or were beyond the reach of, the richest of the past.

The eighteenth century frontiersman in a hut without conveniences but his own space of land was in envious position from the perspective of endentured servants. By contrast, the contemporary welfare recipient residing in subsidized housing with electric heat, flush toilets, an automobile, television, foodstamps, WIN, WIC, and ADC is definitely poor. One need only read accounts of the living conditions of most of Mississippi's population in the 1930s or earlier to recognize that the character of life has been drastically altered for the average family through modern technology and social organization.[14]

The following descriptions of the same county in Mississippi at about the same time illustrate the relativity of poverty according to perception and social definition. Compared to other areas, the same conditions which may mean a status of dire deprivation and stark poverty within the American context are just as appropriately interpreted in terms of relative affluence within a different frame of reference.

> Consider, for example Tunica County, Mississippi, the poorest county in the poorest state. About 8 out of 10 families. . .have incomes which make them poor by currently used standards; yet 52% own television sets, and 37% own washing machines. . .their material possessions, though low by American standards,would be the envy of the great majority of mankind in the world today."[15]

Another description of the same county highlighted poverty and deprivation:

> "Out of a population of 16,826, 79.1 percent of it is black, no less than 13,500 make less than $3,000 and 11,370 see less than $2,000 in a year. . .the infant mortality rate per 1,000 live births is 64.5. . .utterly in keeping with figures that come out of the world's poorest, most 'underdeveloped' nations."[16]

Clearly, poverty is relative to conditions within a society. The determination of who is poor and by what standard of deprivation depends on many variables, including family size, age, assets held, needs, climate, consumer price levels, the opportunity to acquire in-kind items such as the growth of one's own food, and so on. A retired couple owning a small farm near Philadelphia, Mississippi might feel well-to-do in terms of income adequacy and living arrangements compatible with satisfactory or nonhardship living on the same income that might mean extreme privation for a family in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Statistical vs. Experiental Poverty

Statistics, correlations, and tables of cross-classification of the poor and their distribution can only delineate the bare perimenter of poverty. To look at the poor as numerical categories scarcely brings into comprehension the fact that each figure represents a human entity for whom the sensations of poverty may be a daily experience of "deprivation and hopelessness, of hunger and despair, of filth and disease and personal humiliation, of physical misery and hopeless anger.[17]

As the following vignettes illustrate, poverty is a reality whose experiental dimensions are scarcely circumscribed by statistics alone. In the first a black minister describes what he called the "niggarizing dependence of the system" as reflected in a family of blacks in Mendenhall, Mississippi, in the early 1960s.

> From the outside, Miss Hester's place looks like an abandoned shack. Walls slant at different angles. As you drive up, children come out and stand on the broken steps. The roof is tattered and off center. The whole structure, much of it rotten, leans so much that when you walk close, it seems like you're losing your balance.
>
> Inside are four rooms. Every one but the kitchen has beds in it. Gaps in the walls and around the fireplace are stuffed with pieces of tin and rags. There are mice and rats. In the kitchen is a broken refrigerator, a sack of meal, and a jar of jelly. Behind a torn plastic curtain, one of Miss Hester's daughters was lying, whimpering on a bed. Corrine had gotten sick about three months ago, and was now malnourished so that it looked like her skin had been sewn tightly over her bones. She looked like a living skeleton. At 36, she appeared older than her mother, although she was once a beautiful black woman. She had bedsores.[18]

The second describes the "sadness and pain and. . .resignation and resourcefulness and hope and bitterness that exist side by side" amidst "the rich, alluvial earth, the quiet of a rural state. . .The grazing cattle, the silos, the fine ranch houses, the quaint and nicely kept-up churches, the endless stretches of open land, the cotton gins and cotton wagons, the colorfully decorated grain elevators and tractor companies" in the Mississippi Delta. Specifically, Coles describes the living conditions of a black family in Tunica County, where the father worked for a "bossman" in 1969,

> . . . who see maybe three or four hundred dollars in the course of an entire year. They live. . . in a brokendown shack of wood . . .They have no electricity. . .They lack running water. They use a shallow, contaminated well, which is just "a mile or two off." They lack even an outhouse. . .

The mother is quoted by Coles as saying:

> "I boil up a bone and some beans and there's the water and I salt it real good ...when it gets cold, she /speaker's child/ can't go to school, because there's no shoes for her and we have to stay close to the stove...
>
> "The bossman don't give us much money, but there'll be ten dollars one week, and maybe five the next, and he gave us twenty for Christmas...His wife -- she'll come over here sometimes and give us some extra grits and once or twice in the year some good bacon..."[19]

The point is not to deny that amounts of poverty are self-determined and sometimes self-inflicted (an obvious example being reflected in activities in the maternity ward wherein there is a pattern of reproductive behavior which breeds and ensures poverty), nor to deny persons a choice of poverty life style where it is not the responsibility of the collective to intervene. It is to point out, however, that for those who suffer the deprivations of poverty the condition of being poor with all the concomitants and accourtrements of that status have a reality which statistics and correlations are inadequate to convey. Orcutt has observed that poverty level families may be locked into a generationally perpetuated destructive life style, possibly characterized by poor tolerance of frustration, weak controls on impulses of rage or sexual attainment, and self-defeating interfamilial relationships with parents functioning as siblings who are prone to accute crisis in their own lives, posing special problems for growing children.[20]

Subjective vs. Objective Poverty

For centuries in America, poverty was considered coterminous with destitution. A person was regarded as "poor" only if he required charity to survive. Most earlier definitions defined poverty primarily in economic terms as the absence of resources to maintain a subsistence level of living. For the most part economic imperative made it impossible to define poverty in any terms other than subsistence.

Modern technology, rising expectations, general increase in overall affluence, and changing philosophical conceptualization of the causes of poverty resulted in a liberalization of the degree of deprivation regarded as minimal for human needs. Items like recreation and insurance began to be regarded among the goods and services desirable for a satisfactory level-of-living. Broadening of the level of deprivation which constitutes poverty received additional impetus from the Depression of the 1930s. The massive unemployment and distress of the period gave vitality to the motion that poverty was exogenous to the individual rather than the result of sinful sloth. In the interim of time 1935-1960 the absolute level of poverty as defined by the Social Security Administration rose by 40-75% in real purchasing power.

Increasingly, sociocultural attributes are viewed as important components of poverty definition.[21] Some have augured for an explicitly relative definition of poverty (such as the bottom twenty percentile of total income distribution) to determine who is "poor." Such a definition would insure a magnitude of statistically recognized relative "poverty" irrespective of the levels-of-living it enabled.[22]

Relative vs. Absolute Poverty

Poverty is both relative and absolute in character. Inability to buy food, clothing, shelter, education, medical attention to a level where the most elemental needs of the family are met may be considered the absolute aspect of poverty. The relative aspect accrues from the fact that every product and every service is largely socially determined; it is easier to be poor if all in one's family, community, or circle of friends are also poor. In such a country as the United States where communication is highly developed, and poverty usually includes automotive vehicles, television, access to a school system providing basic educational potential, and myriad social services from agencies which exhort themselves to seek out clientele as beneficiaries, it may be harder for the deprived remnant to take comfort in individual poverty even though their poverty is relative affluence contrasted with living levels-of-living over much of the world.

So successful has the United States been in eliminating absolute deprivation that even Michael Harrington, whose Other America (1962) is said to have provided the initial inspiration for a "war on poverty" as a political device,[23] argued that U. S. poverty was largely "invisible."[24] By 1960 only 6.8% of American dwelling units were dilapidated; nearly three-fourths of the families with incomes of less than $4,000 not only had clothes, but washing machines. About one in five youth from families with less than $5,000 per year attended college, compared to one and one-half in five for all income levels. As of May 1964, nearly 60% of the families with income under $4,000 had automobiles.[25] Such facts do not necessarily mean that the problem(s) of poverty should be underestimated. They do suggest that the fact a nation could think in terms of a "war on poverty" when the poor were so fortunate in comparison with the masses in most times and places was itself a blessing unique in the history of personkind.

U. S. poverty, rather than a mass phenomenon, is a problem of specific individuals, families, groups with "poverty-linked" characteristics,[26] wherein, according to Madden, groups with higher indices of disadvantage are not only better of comparitively, but are becoming better off at an accelerating rate.[27] However, a sense of relative deprivation may be increased by changes in living standards, social and geographical mobility, and other changes in the positions of groups vis-a-vis other groups. Low-Beer feels that the massive south-north migration of blacks and the "egalitarian" rhetoric of the 1960s contributed to rising expectations and consequent feelings of relative deprivation among categories of persons.[28]

At the same time, it has been argued that the poverty population is increasingly comprised of the aged, female headed households, and other categories of persons less likely to ever rise out of poverty once they become poor.[29] It is also said that while the absolute levels-of-living of the poor are improving, the differences between those of lowest income and opportunity and the remainder of the population may be becoming greater.[30] The poverty line for a non-farm family of four may have been as high as 75% of the median income of families and individuals after World War II.[31] Under such circumstances it is easy to understand that poverty may come to be regarded not as an economic variable alone, but as a condition of the human spirit. As explained by Orshansky, "A revolution of expectations has taken place...There is now a conviction that everyone has the right to share in the good things of life. Yet there are still many who must watch America's parade of progress from the sidelines...in a time when the boom of prosperity is more general, the taste of poverty is more bitter."[32]

Psychological vs. Physcial Poverty

The "psychological poor" might be regarded as those with sufficient resources to cover basic subsistence needs but "who suffer as keenly as those below because they have so little hope of ever enjoying what the rest of society routinely enjoys."[33] The "psychological poor" may be characterized by stratificational differentials in terms of opportunity for social mobility, self-respect, or access to political power.

According to Harrington: "Poverty should be defined psychologically in terms of "those whose place in society is such that they...develop attitudes of defeat and pessimism and who are therefore excluded from...new opportunities."[34] Wilkins has described poverty as a kind of "anguished culture" of persons with a "sense of outrage" at real or imagined inequality. Poverty is thus shifted from a question of subsistence to one of mood and outlook. If one is to claim the riots of the 1960s were caused by poverty, discrimination, deprivation, or related variables, it could hardly be said to be a result of actual or objective poverty. Lens, commenting on the fact that cities like Detroit were plagued by riots, vandalism, and burning in 1967, observed:

> The worst disturbance that summer came not in Mississippi where some Negroes were starving, but in the liberal auto center where much had been done to alleviate destitution. Yet many an auto worker with earnings of $100 to $125 a week and more participated in the riots. By mathematical yardsticks such men could not be considered poor. Evidently, however they felt themselves part of an anguished culture that could not be appeased with wages alone.[35]

Diversity of the Poor

Barringer has observed that "those who are poor have proven to be far more heterogenous and far more widely distributed than policy makers have given them credit for." Just as there is no "typical" American, there is no "typical" poor American.[36]

Persons in poverty fall into many mutually exclusive categories and are victims of a variety of circumstances. Poverty includes persons of all ages, races, and phases of the life cycle. Nevertheless, the frequency of the incidence of poverty is much greater among certain demographic categories. The aged, members of fatherless families those with low formal education attainment, members of larger families, are categories which demonstrate a greater than average incidence of poverty in contrast to members of small families, male headed families, or families whose head has attained higher levels of formal education. Within each category, however, there are many who are not poor, while many of the poor do live in male headed families, small families, and families which have not been educationally deprived. Furthermore, many of the demographic traits associated with poverty tend to appear in clusters, and are mutually reinforcing.

THEORIES OF POVERTY ETIOLOGY

Since poverty is a matter of degree rather than an either or condition, all poverty thresholds are necessarily subjective irrespective of how objective the empirical data may be which are used to define them. Furthermore, the definition of poverty is easily interwoven with programmatic and policy issues. Whether preventive or pallative, anti-poverty efforts are ultimately based on decisions as to the casual factors in poverty and of the characteristics of the poor. Social scientists and policy makers concerned with poverty both as an intellectual problem and as rationale for action.[37] This section seeks to review some of the ways that casual explanations of poverty are categorized. It is important to recognize that these theoretical explanations are not mutually exclusive.

Folklore Theories

Some of the popular notions about poverty can be properly assigned to folklore. Among these are the following sometimes explanations of the existence of poverty:

1. Society needs the threat of poverty to induce work and sobriety in the lower classes.[38]

2. All the well-to-do are rich only because others are poor and/or exploited.[39]

3. If none were poor, unpleasant jobs would not be done so that there is an intentional conspiracy to keep some person poor.[40]

4. The "middle class" has a psychological need to exclude a minority from above poverty living standards.

Whatever exceptions may exist wherein there are well-to-do persons who obtained their position at the expense of the less fortunate or where there has been economic exploitation of an individual or group,[41] it would be more erroneous than accurate to regard these monocasual explanations as comprehensive descriptive theories of poverty.[42]

Events Beyond Individual Control

One cannot look at the data on the poor without sensing that many are poor because of events beyond their control. These include:

1. Chance assignment to poor parents.
2. Membership in an oversize family.
3. Afflication with disability or illness.[43]
4. Premature death of family breadwinner.
5. Declining demand for services in one's occupation, industry, or place of residence.
6. Outliving of one's savings.[44]
7. Economic consequences of the political problem of inflation.[45]
8. Financially disastrous medical needs.[46]
9. Sequestration from opportunity for productive enterprise.[47]

For many persons who are otherwise "normal" poverty may be said to arise out of one or a combination of such happenings. This is why it is important for anti-poverty efforts to be of both a pallative (meeting of immediate needs) and preventive (keeping the poverty status from arising) nature.

"Case" Theory of Poverty

"Case" theory of poverty means that however general poverty may be or how concentrated it may be among categories of persons, it is viewed as the result of processes that occur individual by individual i.e., poverty is seen as the result of individual misfortunes and deficiencies rather than the result of general social trends and phenomena.

Tussig has pointed out that "a welfare program that is not a 'welfare program'" is not inconsistent with a "case" theory of poverty as an extension of individual private provision for calamities as long as it does not recognize conferral of benefits on the non-needy as "welfare."[48]

"Culture of Poverty" Theory

This theory holds that poverty is sustained by a life style common to most poor people. The poverty subculture, from this perspective, is a disorganized, pathological culture in the anthropological sense. It is self-generating in that it perpetuates the cultural patterns of the group as well as the individual psycho-social inadequacies of its members which hinder assent from poverty.

The actual conditions of low income life are such that the distinctive "culture of poverty" which provides the poor with a design for living is determined by the structural conditions within which the existence of the poor takes place. The "Culture of Poverty" life style is composed of a set of behavioral norms which are conducive to matriarchal patterns of child rearing, apathy, defeatism, compensatory copulation. excessive concern with obstensible masculinity among males. hopelessness, reliance on fate and chance, absence of ingrained patterns of deferred gratification or futurism, all of which "enable the poor to live without reflection upon filth and violence in their environment, and provide the basis for accepting deviant and criminal modes of making a living as proper."[49] The "culture" which develops is both functional and adaptive to the realities of existence among the poor.[50]

These attitudes and norms coalesce into a comprehensive framework for understanding life and coping with miserable conditions. This frame of reference is a social heredity that is self-perpetuating and is intergenerationally transferred. The highly integrated cultural network of attitudes, behavioral norms, and social patterns insures the longitudinal carryover of a culture (commonly accepted ways of acting and thinking) which facilitates survival at the same time it tends to be self-perpetuating.[51]

"Culture of Poverty" as Ideology

One of the major caveats to the "culture of poverty" theory is that it allegedly blames the poor for their plight rather than presenting damnation of the social structure and is thereby of limited viability as a basis for planning change oriented policy. To whatever extent changes in situational constraints affect the life style of the poor, theories in the culture of poverty tradition are said to be undermined. Critics of the culture of poverty thesis contend that the attitudes and values of the poor are to be understood as derived from situational adaptations to their differential socio-economic and political placement within the structure of society.

Viewed from the situational adaptation perspective, the "life style" of the poor is understood and interpreted in terms of those sets of relationships that limit and shape choice possibilities. Similarly, solution to poverty and it correlates must be sought in terms of a redistribution of the hierarchial allotment of choice possibilities.[52]

Structurally Mandated Poverty

To the extent that poverty is structurally mandated, focus on the characteristics and personal inadequacies of the poor will contribute little to the solution of the problem. To the extent that poverty is structurally mandated, it can be removed only by basic changes in the economic and political system.[52]

In this view, the poor are an externally oppressed subsociety whose culturally transmitted pathologies have their etiology in the denial of resources to the poor. Since the disadvantaged position of the poor is due primarily to the behavior of the higher strata who prevent the redistribution of resources, elimination of poverty requires revolutionary accession to power by representatives of the poor and consequent radical alteration of the whole society and redistribution of resources.[54]

One form of this position given considerable articulation in the 1960s and 1970s was that of "corporate liberalism." This theory reversed the traditional view that "liberalism" was the movement of other sectors of the population to restrict big business. A major foundation for this theory was provided by the argument advanced by Gabriel Kolko in *Railroads and Regulation, 1877-1916*[55] that the progressive era expansion of the regulatory role of the federal government grew from efforts of corporate establishments to utilize the apparatus of centralized government to protect themselves from effective market competition.

During the 1960s, as the "new left quickly realized that the assumptions of New Deal liberalism interpreted by...liberals of the 1960s were in conflict with the full scale attack on racism and poverty which the new left advocated,"[56] the theory of "corporate liberalism" emerged as a key paradigm for the analysis of American institutions. This theory holds that supposedly "liberal" changes in social policy have in fact been orchestrated by business monopoly in its own interest.

> ...it provided the groundwork for a critique of Kennedy-Johnson policies on poverty and race which emphasized the essentially manipulative and cooperative intent behind those policies.[57] In short, it justified the profound moral outrage of the American New Left because it suggested that conscious policies rather than an impersonal system were responsible for the defects of society.[58]

Culture and behavior are seen as a response to economic and other conditions, as situational in origin, and changing as situations change.[59] Poverty, from this perspective, exists within a situational or structural context which must be altered if the phenomenon of poverty and its associated characteristics is to be eliminated.[60] The Schwendinger's, for example, contend that compensatory education and manpower training programs among marginal groups are irrational in the sense of effectively reducing marginalization without "significant attempts to expand and stabalize the labor market directly through public works, the socialization of industries, and economic planning..." Areas dominated by capital are said to be hindered in social policy planning. The changes in structural relations represented by China, Cuba and the German Democratic Republic are recommended. They claim the result of these longterm strategies for structural change (as opposed to piece-meal attacks) wherein "the anarchy of the market is overcome through economic planning" is that marginalization, crime, and delinquency are sharply curtailed as "the virtual elimination of unemployment and subemployment enormously decreases the number of adolescent marginals, and the size and stability of their delinquent group formations."[61]

DEFINING AND MEASURING THE POOR

Since there is no hard and fast line which distinguishes the poor from the rest of society, poverty is probably best conceptualized along a continuum rather than as a fixed point. However, it is desirable for those who seek to shape or direct anti-poverty programs to develop precise operational answers to the questions of 1) what is poverty, 2) who and where are the poor, and 3) what are their descriptive characterisitics. Such answers of necessity must be primarily statistical. Thus, we immediately encounter the problem of determining what factors are to be instrumental in drawing such a line, and, once having decided upon these criteria, of deciding at what point the line is to be drawn. Poverty can be described in the abstract, but whether someone is to be considered poor ultimately depends on who is asking the questions, and for what purpose, and within what context.

Purposes of Definition

Poverty definitions serve several functions in the public policy arena. One is to identify the poor in the sense of establishing eligibility criteria for receipt of social services or other public estovers. There is general concensus that, when used in this way, poverty definitions should be based on objective economic status. This, however, raises a question as to whether income, wealth, or consumption provides the most appropriate measure.[62]

A second function of the poverty definition is that it is used as a tool to crystalize interest. Consequently, there may be efforts to broaden the term to encompass as wide a range of persons, categories, and functions as possible, i.e., to include all students, all workers, all members of a professional class, or all persons in some other category ("fixed income," agriculturalist, etc.) Bay has used the designation "poverty system" to encompass all nonsocialistic countries, advising that "hopes for the future must be based on strategies to strengthen the knowledge and moral of the left while seeking to undermine the moral of the right...by way of exposing the liberal fallacies that are used to legitimate our legal system which safeguards the massive privileges of the nonpoor, and by demonstrating that personal freedom is compatible with, and indeed requires, drastic reductions in present levels of differential poverty." According to Bay, while some countries "may be able, perhaps with a minimum of bloodshed, to activate and give self-confidence to their poor, on the Cuban, Chinese or Mocambique model," armed struggle must not be ruled out in areas where too many factors conspire to make ascent out of the "poverty system" difficult.[63]

"Poverty" designation to encompass a broad range of income levels and living standards on the basis of some interest organizing criteria (ideology, function, reference group, color) are largely cultural and sociological rather than strictly economic. Even a purely economic criteria raises the question of what measure is to be used (some arbitrary level of dollar income; some specific proportion of mean or median income; some percentile ranking of the total income distribution).

OFFICIAL POVERTY INDEX

The current federal definition of poverty is based on the Social Security Administration (Orshansky) Index. The core of this definition is the cost of a nutritionally sound economy food plan as determined by the USDA.

The SSA Index provides a range of income cutoffs adjusted by such factors as family size, sex of head, and farm-nonfarm residence. The poverty thresholds are updated annually by changes in the consumer price index. There also appears to be constant pressure to raise the poverty level in terms of real dollars. The poverty guidelines continential United States effective May 5, 1978 are shown in Figure I.

FIGURE I

COMMUNITY SERVICES ADMINISTRATION POVERTY GUIDELINES

Size of Family Unit	100%	125%	100%	125%
1.	$3,140	$3,925	$2,690	$3,363
2.	4,160	5,200	3,550	4,438
3.	5,180	6,475	4,410	5,513
4.	6,200	7,750	5,270	6,588
5.	7,220	9,825	6,130	7,663
6.	8,240	10,300	6,990	8,738

1. For family units with more than 6 members, add $1,020 for each additional member in a nonfarm family at 100% and add $1,275 for each additional member in a nonfarm family at 125%.

2. For family units with more than 6 members, add $860 for each additional member in a farm family at 100% and add $1,075 for each additional member in a farm family at 125%.

The poverty index is not without recognized limitations. The definition is such that some relatively low-income states are probably comparatively overfunded in the allocation of poverty relief funds because of regional variations in living costs. The index probably overestimates the extent of comparative poverty in the South.[64] Furthermore, comparative distortion among individuals is introduced as an artifact of the measure itself. For example, the ignoring of income from assets places some persons below the poverty line even though their level-of-living may be much higher than their current income would suggest. Similarly, the relatively genteel poverty of students with prospects for high future income likely makes some of these statistically "poor" persons and families better off in terms of their actual economic and social welfare than current money income might indicate.[65] Also, poverty figures for the farm and aged population are distorted by the presence of farm families with low dollar incomes but considerable investment in the land that is the source of their livelihood.[66] Consequently, the statistical incidence of poverty in terms of current dollar income among both old and young is likely to overestimate actual poverty because of the weakness of current dollar income as a proxy for the actual level-of-living enjoyed.[67]

The instance of poverty is likely to be further distorted as a result of the way annual income data are collected. Children on their own who previously lived with parents, divorces, or persons leaving the "family of orientation" and establishing a "family of procreation" would be particularly likely to report little or no income for the preceeding year and thus be classed below the poverty line.[68] However, the poverty index does provide a standardized measure which permits comparisons over time and which provides usable statistical indices of the numbers, characteristics, and distribution of the poor as thus measured for analytical and program planning purposes.

ANALYTICAL MODELS OF FAMILY POVERTY

Causal Models of Poverty

Sollie and associates, as a means of assisting action agencies in the identification and interpretation of data in terms of the role of particular action agencies and what the facts mean with respect to agency resources, developed a dual model for the analysis of poverty data on the basis of a cause-focused and a symptoms-focused model. The authors point out that for the great majority of agencies on the local level the primary focus is generally on symptoms. Focus on causes and remedies and the implementation of remedial steps are generally components of public policy as resolved in the realm of public debate and the political process. However, as Sollie and associates point out, agencies need to be aware that a symptoms focus aims for the alleviation of certain undersirable aspects of a particular problem rather than the etiology of the problem itself.

An action agency, viewing poverty from the causal perspective, might ascertain that a major cause of lack of adequate income is the absence of a saleable skill (Figure 2). On the basis of this determination the agency might focus its efforts on programs to provide work skills or to expand the supply of employment opportunities. Another agency, viewing family poverty from the symptoms perspective (Figure 3) might determine that its most significant impact could be made in relation to health, in which their attention might be directed toward promotion of hygenic, dietary, or health care utilization practices.

In Figure 2 , two direct causes of family poverty are suggested along with subsequent levels of sufficient causes of the direct causes. Cause level two lists causes once removed from the direct cause. A reasonable statement deducted from this model might be: Family poverty is fostered by the inefficient use of family resources, which in turn may be the product of a lack of knowledge, understanding, and/or motivation, which may reflect an inadequate education. Agencies seeking to focus on the causation factors promotive of the immediate cause on provision of appropriate knowledge, understanding, and motivation through adequate education, communication, and socialization.

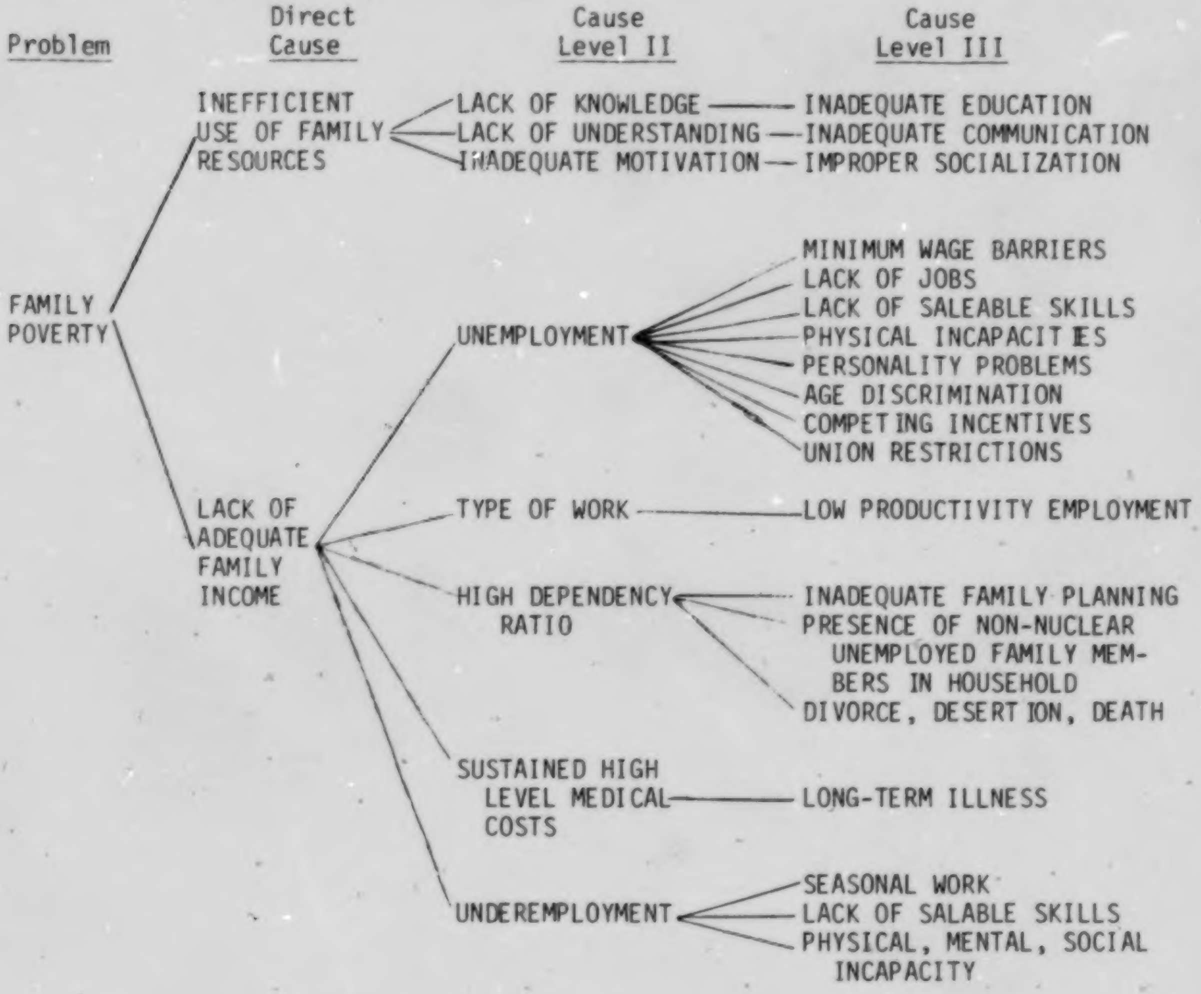
Figure 4 suggests some remedial efforts which might be addressed to poverty symptoms. For instance, where inadequate housing is a symptom of poverty, legislators, planners, and action agencies might wish to focus attention of alleviating remedies by turning attention to legislation, programs, or steps which would move in the direction of increasing available units or reducing rental, purchase, or repair costs. Where the focus is on employment,remedial policies directed toward underemployment, unemployment, or welfare competition for employment through steps aimed at increasing opportunity and incentive would seem to be called for.

Implementation of Remedies

The actual implementation of remedies, whether these range from benign neglect to active intervention, is an issue to be resolved through the broader political process of public policy determination. Included within the principles to be resolved through the realm of ideas and debate over the methods by which social problems can and/or should be solved is the issue of the degree to which government can eliminate poverty, neutralize racism, prevent crime, restore cities, and so on if particular policies are adopted, plus recognition of the actual limitations of policy.[69] The list of things that society simply cannot do, even though they might be desirable, is virtually inexhaustible.[70]

Figure 2

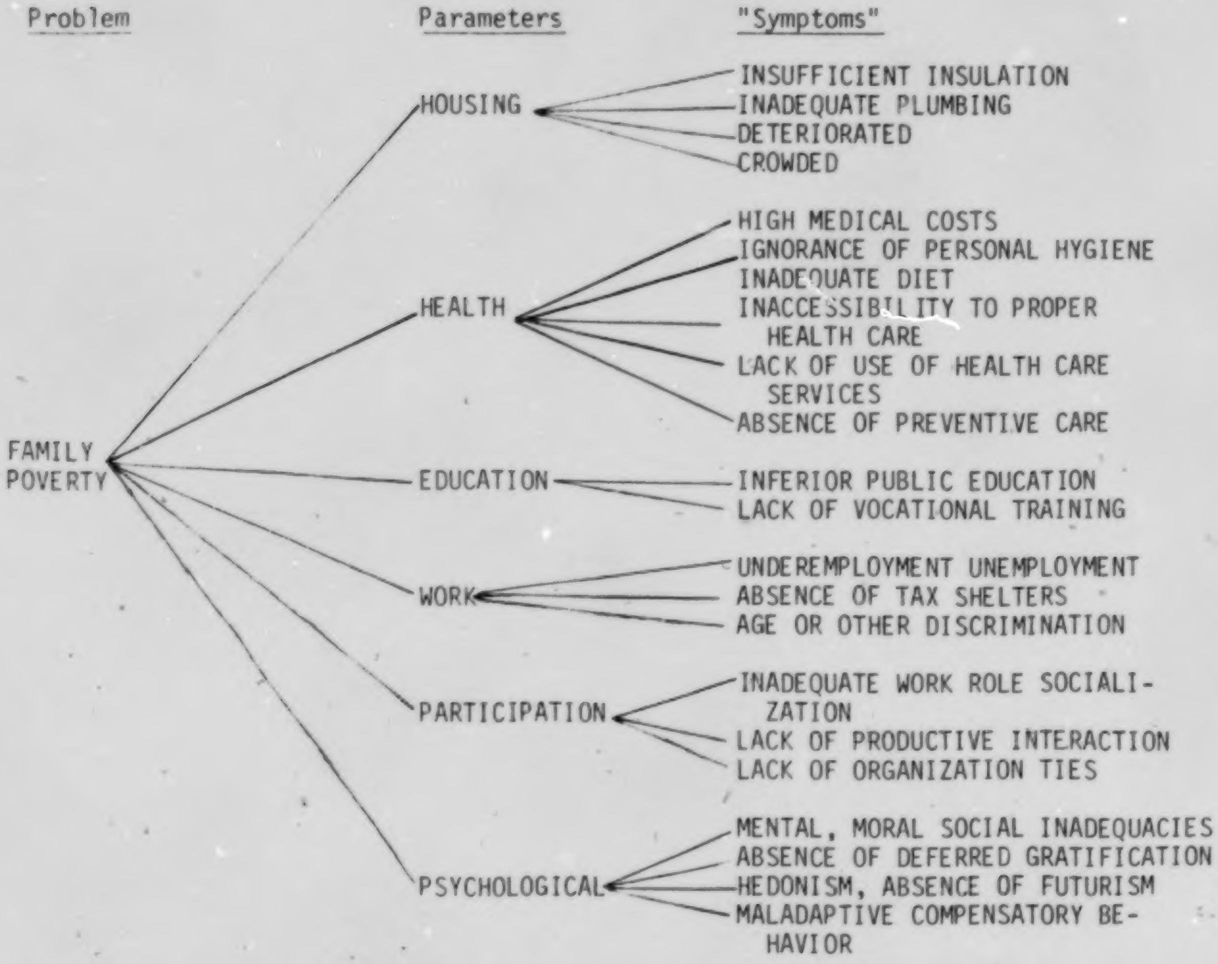
CAUSE FOCUSED ANALYTICAL MODEL OF FAMILY POVERTY


Problem
Direct Cause
Cause Level II
Cause Level III
FAMILY POVERTY
INEFFICIENT USE OF FAMILY RESOURCES
LACK OF KNOWLEDGE
INADEQUATE EDUCATION
LACK OF UNDERSTANDING
INADEQUATE COMMUNICATION
INADEQUATE MOTIVATION
IMPROPER SOCIALIZATION
LACK OF ADEQUATE FAMILY INCOME
UNEMPLOYMENT
MINIMUM WAGE BARRIERS
LACK OF JOBS
LACK OF SALEABLE SKILLS
PHYSICAL INCAPACITIES
PERSONALITY PROBLEMS
AGE DISCRIMINATION
COMPETING INCENTIVES
UNION RESTRICTIONS
TYPE OF WORK
LOW PRODUCTIVITY EMPLOYMENT
HIGH DEPENDENCY RATIO
INADEQUATE FAMILY PLANNING
PRESENCE OF NON-NUCLEAR UNEMPLOYED FAMILY MEMBERS IN HOUSEHOLD
DIVORCE, DESERTION, DEATH
SUSTAINED HIGH LEVEL MEDICAL COSTS
LONG-TERM ILLNESS
UNDEREMPLOYMENT
SEASONAL WORK
LACK OF SALABLE SKILLS
PHYSICAL, MENTAL, SOCIAL INCAPACITY

Source: Basic format and presentation scheme plagarized and adapted from C.R. Sollie, et al., Changes in Quality of Life in Mississippi: 1960-1970 (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 824, 1975), p. 14.

Figure 3

SYMPTOMS FOCUSED ANALYTICAL MODEL OF FAMILY POVERTY


Problem
Parameters
"Symptoms"
FAMILY POVERTY
HOUSING
INSUFFICIENT INSULATION
INADEQUATE PLUMBING
DETERIORATED
CROWDED
HEALTH
HIGH MEDICAL COSTS
IGNORANCE OF PERSONAL HYGIENE
INADEQUATE DIET
INACCESSIBILITY TO PROPER HEALTH CARE
LACK OF USE OF HEALTH CARE SERVICES
ABSENCE OF PREVENTIVE CARE
EDUCATION
INFERIOR PUBLIC EDUCATION
LACK OF VOCATIONAL TRAINING
WORK
UNDEREMPLOYMENT UNEMPLOYMENT
ABSENCE OF TAX SHELTERS
AGE OR OTHER DISCRIMINATION
PARTICIPATION
INADEQUATE WORK ROLE SOCIALIZATION
LACK OF PRODUCTIVE INTERACTION
LACK OF ORGANIZATION TIES
PSYCHOLOGICAL
MENTAL, MORAL SOCIAL INADEQUACIES
ABSENCE OF DEFERRED GRATIFICATION
HEDONISM, ABSENCE OF FUTURISM
MALADAPTIVE COMPENSATORY BEHAVIOR

*Symptoms on some parameters likely adaptive rather than causative.

Source: Basic format and presentation plagarized, adapted, and extended from Sollie, _et al_.

Figure 4

IMPLEMENTATION FOCUSED MODEL OF FAMILY POVERTY

Problems	"Symptoms" Parameters	Remedies	Implementative Steps
POVERTY	INADEQUATE HOUSING	REDUCED FERTILITY REPAIRS INCREASED UNITS REDUCED COSTS	URBAN HOMESTEADING, TAX REDUCTION REDUCED FEES, COMMISSIONS, WAGES ADOPTION OF COST REDUCING TECHNOLOGY REDUCTION OF UNION ENTRY BARRIERS AND WAGE SCALES REMOVAL OF GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES
	HEALTH PATHOLOGIES AND PROBLEMS	REDUCED PROVIDER FEES AND CHARGES REASONABILIZATION OF PROVIDER INCOME REMOVAL OF PERSONAL RESOURCE BARRIERS IMPROVED ACCESS AND DELIVERY SYSTEMS DISPERSED, APPLIED KNOWLEDGE	CONSUMER RATHER THAN DISPENSER CONTROL PREVENTIVE RATHER THAN CRISIS MEDICINE EXPANDED OPPORTUNITY FOR PRACTIONERS APART FROM PHYSICIAN CONTROL STATE ASSUMPTION OF MAJOR ILLNESS COSTS SELF MEDICATION REDUCED EMOULMENTS FOR PHYSICIANS AND QUASI—PROFESSIONALS (NURSES, ETC.)
	INADEQUATE AND/OR INAPPROPRIATE EDUCATION	CREDENTIALING REDUCTION NONPROVIDER TESTING VOCATIONALLY APPROPRIATE EDUCATION DISMANTLING OF STATE BUREAUCRACIES	LOCAL CONTROL AND FINANCING TAX CREDITS FOR EDCUATION PARENTAL-CONSUMER HEGEMONY IN POLICY AND EXPENDITURES ENCOURAGEMENT OF PRIVATE EDUCATION APPRENTICE VOCATIONAL TRAINING
	UNDEREMPLOYMENT UNEMPLOYMENT INSUFFICIENT RENUMERATION	OPPORTUNITY INCENTIVE	REDUCED MINIMUM WAGE BARRIERS REDUCED WELFARE INCENTIVES FOR NON-EMPLOYMENT
	PARTICIPATION	REDUCTION OF BARRIERS MOTIVATION AND OPPORTUNITY	REDUCED TAXATION RIGHT TO WORK PUBLIC INTEREST COUNTERBALANCING OF UNION POWER

Possibly the best a government can do, other than benign regulation for prevention of crime and insuring obedience to legislatively enacted rules, is to do as little damage as possible to those processes of a people which would make education and employment available and to avoid whereever possible creating of government sanctioned monopolies, whether these be in the form of limiting options to obtain education, exploiting the poor through devices and restraints to raise prices, or preventing the practice of trades, vocations, and professions.

Mississippi: Land of Promise and Potential, Arena of Challenge

The promise of Mississippi is great--for it is yet a relatively unspoiled, nonurbanized State. Mississippi, in this enviable position, will do well to profit by the mistakes of others. Though many of Mississippi's characteristics have emerged from Mississippi history, the past has not saddled Mississippi with many of the infirmities characteristic of the older industralized areas. In Mississippi, the countryside is still viable, the course of her industrial development is in the future, her population concentrations not yet overwhelming in magnitude. There is yet time to consider the warnings expressed by the Twelve Southerners in I'll Take My Stand (1930) of a society always winning "Pyrrhic victories at points of no strategic significance" in a losing battle with those aspects of the life environment which allows man's existence to be most fully integrated and harmonious.

A description of Mississippi in the 1950s which appeared to capture many of its faces stated:

> Mississippi has...wealth and poverty, education and illiteracy, progressivism and reaction. The tendency of many of its people to nurture traditions and to remember the past...produces a fierce pride in their own history, customs, and ...also produces resentment against external criticism and resistance to outside reformers...Yet, these same reforms are constantly being affected by local decisions; institutions and habits change here as elsewhere.[71]

This description still retains validity, although the achievement of agricultural diversification, comparative industrialization and the altered policies resulting from the dethronement of segregation under pressure of the civil rights movement and federal legislation have resulted in dramatic changes. The mergence of time past into time present in Mississippi has been captured in Skates brief description:

> One cannot conclude that the past is altogether dead in Mississippi. Yet within the last three decades all of the basic themes of the previous hundred years have been altered -- King Cotton and agrarianism, sharecropping and segregation, and feeling of alienation and insulation from the world outside. In their places...have come modern transportation and communication, industrialization, recession of the race question, agricultural diversification -- institutions not unlike those in other states.[72]

As Cross has remarked: "For Mississippi the past is gone, the future is open."[73] To whatever extent Mississippians and the culture and society to which they may give allegiance and endorsement may be described as conservative,[74] it is indicative of the concern which Mississippians have for the future, and for the preservation of opportunity for existence on a humane scale with the desirable requisites, estovers, and perquisities of identification, place, flexibility, and meaning of community.

For Mississippi, there is a past which is worth continuing, conserving, and integrating into time future.[75] One of the worthy tasks of time present is that of a wise and prudent conservation within the arena of political, moral, social, economic, and cultural existence -- the task of progress of preservation.

SUMMARY

The determination of who is or who is not poor is a matter of social definition which is relative to place and time. Poverty has subjective as well as objective, relative as well as absolute, and psychological as well as physical dimensions. This report seeks to provide a data base on characteristics of the poverty population in Mississippi and, thereby, to provide some usable information for those agencies with mandates to engage in activities which are expected to have an impact on the causes and symptoms of poverty. A factual basis, plus an awareness of some issues which may be raised and consequences which may be the likely result of a given course of action are desirable ingredients in the planning mix.

Chapter Two

COUNTY DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

This section provides county level data along such social and economic dimensions as population, family income, labor force, employment, welfare, education, housing, and vital statistics. By utilizing the statistical data in this section, Community Action Agencies can complete a CAP Form 5 for county wide areas without resort to other documents. Chapter Three, "Community Action Agency User Guide and Index," provides both an index of the statistical information as well as a user guide in the form of CAP Form 5 with reference to the tables in Chapter Two figures where the pertinent data may be located.

Data in the tables and figures following were obtained from a variety of sources to give Mississippi CAAs the latest data of record available. These sources include the 1970 census plus interim population reports and estimates and pertinent reports of public agencies.

Providing accurate statistical documentation on a community could be a highly time consuming task if the data needed had to be corralled from a variety of sources. Convenient sources of various arrays of county social and economic data other than found in this report are provided in the following documents:

Ellen S. Bryant and Joanne Clarke, Mississippi Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects (Mississippi State, MS.: MAFES Bulletin 840, 1977).

Sandra Brooks, Handbook of Selected Data for Mississippi (Jackson, Mississippi Research and Development Center, 1977).

Economic Analysis Division, Social and Economic Profile of Black Mississippians (Jackson, Mississippi Research and Development Center, 1977).

Mississippi Statistical Abstract (Mississippi State, Ms.: Division of Research, College of Business and Industry, Mississippi State University, 1976).

Mississippi Employment Security Commission, Labor Market Information for Affirmative Action Programs (Jackson: Research and Statistics Dept., MESC, 1978).

Studying Your Community, by Roland L. Warren (New York: The Free Press, 1965) provides an organized guide and methodological aid for studying a local community. Although it does not provide statistical data on Mississippi, this item does provide insight on the location and interpretation of the pertinent types of data needed for a broader assessment of a community. It would probably be particularly useful to planners intending to use questionnaire data in their community assessment.

TABLE 1

POPULATION 1970 AND 1976, AND COMPONENTS OF CHANGE, 1970-1976

COUNTY	JULY 1, 1976 (PROVISIONAL)	APRIL 1, 1970 (CENSUS)[2]	CHANGE, 1970 TO 1976		COMPONENTS OF CHANGE, 1970 TO 1976[1]			
							NET MIGRATION	
			NUMBER	PERCENT	BIRTHS	DEATHS	NUMBER	PERCENT
MISSISSIPPI	2,354,000	2,216,994	137,000	6.2	284,000	146,000	-1,000	-0.1
ADAMS	37,800	37,293	500	1.2	4,700	2,400	-1,800	-4.9
ALCORN	28,300	27,179	1,100	4.2	2,800	2,000	300	1.0
AMITE	13,000	13,763	-800	-5.8	1,400	900	-1,200	-8.8
ATTALA	18,500	19,570	-1,100	-5.5	2,100	1,500	-1,700	-8.5
BENTON	7,700	7,505	200	2.7	700	500	(Z)	-0.5
BOLIVAR	47,200	49,409	-2,200	-4.5	7,900	3,300	-6,800	-13.8
CALHOUN	15,200	14,623	600	4.3	1,600	1,200	200	1.6
CARROLL	9,100	9,397	-300	-3.3	900	600	-600	-6.4
CHICKASAW	17,300	16,805	500	3.0	2,100	1,300	-400	-2.1
CHOCTAW	8,900	8,440	400	5.0	800	700	300	3.1
CLAIBORNE	11,200	10,086	1,100	11.4	1,300	800	600	6.2
CLARKE	15,500	15,049	500	3.0	1,700	1,200	(Z)	(Z)
CLAY	20,000	18,840	1,100	6.0	2,400	1,200	-100	-0.5
COAHOMA	38,600	40,447	-1,800	-4.5	5,400	2,900	-4,300	-10.7
COPIAH	24,900	24,764	200	0.7	2,900	1,900	-800	-3.2
COVINGTON	14,800	14,002	700	5.3	1,800	1,000	(Z)	(Z)
DE SOTO	50,500	35,885	14,700	40.8	5,100	1,700	11,200	31.3
FORREST	62,400	57,849	4,500	7.8	6,900	3,800	1,400	2.4
FRANKLIN	8,200	8,011	200	2.1	800	700	100	0.8
GEORGE	14,300	12,459	1,800	14.6	1,800	700	800	6.3
GREENE	8,600	8,545	100	1.0	1,100	600	-500	-5.5
GRENADA	20,000	19,854	200	0.9	2,400	1,500	-700	-3.7
HANCOCK	19,100	17,387	1,700	9.9	1,800	1,100	1,100	6.1
HARRISON	145,300	134,582	10,700	7.9	19,000	6,800	-1,600	-1.2
HINDS	231,600	214,973	16,600	7.7	26,500	11,600	1,600	0.8
HOLMES	22,000	23,120	-1,100	-4.7	3,100	1,900	-2,400	-10.2
HUMPHREYS	14,200	14,601	-400	-2.4	2,000	1,100	-1,200	-8.5
ISSAQUENA	2,300	2,737	-500	-17.5	300	200	-600	-20.5
ITAWAMBA	17,800	16,847	1,000	5.9	1,700	1,100	400	2.3
JACKSON	108,300	87,975	20,400	23.1	13,200	3,600	10,700	12.2
JASPER	16,400	15,994	400	2.7	2,000	1,200	-400	-2.7
JEFFERSON	8,800	9,295	-500	-5.3	1,100	600	-1,000	-10.2
JEFFERSON DAVIS	13,000	12,936	(Z)	0.1	1,700	900	-700	-5.6
JONES	59,300	56,357	2,900	5.2	6,000	3,900	900	1.6
KEMPER	10,100	10,233	-200	-1.6	1,200	700	-600	-6.1
LAFAYETTE	26,500	24,181	2,300	9.6	2,700	1,200	900	3.6
LAMAR	18,700	15,209	3,400	22.6	2,100	1,000	2,300	15.3
LAUDERDALE	71,300	67,087	4,200	6.3	9,100	5,100	200	0.3
LAWRENCE	11,900	11,137	800	7.2	1,500	800	100	1.3
LEAKE	18,000	17,085	900	5.6	1,900	1,400	400	2.3
LEE	51,700	46,148	5,500	12.0	6,100	3,000	2,400	5.3
LEFLORE	41,300	42,111	-800	-1.9	5,800	3,000	-3,600	-8.6
LINCOLN	26,700	26,198	500	2.1	3,400	1,900	-1,000	-3.6
LOWNDES	53,400	49,700	3,700	7.5	7,000	2,700	-600	-1.1
MADISON	32,900	29,737	3,100	10.6	4,800	2,100	500	1.5
MARION	24,100	22,871	1,200	5.3	2,700	1,500	(Z)	0.2
MARSHALL	26,900	24,027	2,900	11.9	3,600	1,600	900	3.8
MONROE	34,100	34,043	(Z)	0.1	4,100	2,400	-1,700	-4.9
MONTGOMERY	13,000	12,918	100	0.6	1,500	1,100	-300	-2.4
NESHOBA	21,700	20,802	900	4.2	2,600	1,600	-100	-0.7
NEWTON	19,400	18,983	400	2.1	2,200	1,600	-200	-0.9
NOXUBEE	13,100	14,288	-1,200	-8.5	1,900	1,000	-2,000	-14.2
OKTIBBEHA	33,000	28,752	4,300	14.9	3,300	1,500	2,400	8.5
PANOLA	27,500	26,829	600	2.4	3,600	2,000	-900	-3.5
PEARL RIVER	28,200	27,802	400	1.3	3,400	1,700	-1,300	-4.6
PERRY	10,000	9,065	1,000	10.7	1,200	600	400	3.9
PIKE	34,000	31,813	2,200	7.0	3,900	2,700	1,100	3.4
PONTOTOC	19,000	17,363	1,700	9.5	1,800	1,400	1,300	7.3
PRENTISS	21,500	20,133	1,400	6.9	2,200	1,400	600	3.1
QUITMAN	14,000	15,888	-1,900	-11.8	2,300	1,100	-3,100	-19.5
RANKIN	59,900	43,933	15,900	36.3	5,700	2,100	12,300	27.9
SCOTT	22,300	21,369	900	4.4	2,800	1,600	-300	-1.5
SHARKEY	7,600	8,937	-1,300	-14.9	1,400	600	-2,100	-23.9
SIMPSON	20,700	19,947	800	3.8	2,600	1,500	-300	-1.6
SMITH	14,900	13,561	1,300	9.6	1,700	900	500	3.8
STONE	8,300	8,101	200	2.5	1,000	600	-200	-2.8
SUNFLOWER	35,300	37,047	-1,700	-4.6	5,100	2,400	-4,400	-11.9
TALLAHATCHIE	18,000	19,338	-1,400	-7.1	2,600	1,500	-2,500	-13.0
TATE	20,200	18,544	1,700	9.[illegible]	2,400	1,100	400	2.0
TIPPAH	18,000	15,852	2,200	13.7	1,900	1,100	1,400	8.8
TISHOMINGO	16,000	14,940	1,000	6.8	1,400	1,100	700	5.0
TUNICA	10,800	11,854	-1,000	-8.7	1,700	800	-1,900	-16.1
UNION	20,500	19,096	1,400	7.1	2,100	1,400	600	3.4
WALTHALL	12,800	12,500	300	2.5	1,400	900	-200	-1.6
WARREN	49,100	44,981	4,200	9.3	5,900	3,300	1,500	3.4
WASHINGTON	71,300	70,581	800	1.1	10,500	4,800	-4,900	-7.0
WAYNE	17,600	16,650	900	5.7	2,000	1,100	(Z)	0.2
WEBSTER	10,000	10,047	(Z)	(Z)	1,000	800	-200	-2.2
WILKINSON	10,100	11,099	-1,000	-9.0	1,100	800	-1,300	-12.1
WINSTON	19,200	18,406	800	4.6	2,200	1,400	(Z)	(Z)
YALOBUSHA	12,100	11,915	200	1.9	1,400	1,000	-200	-1.7
YAZOO	27,500	27,314	200	0.7	3,200	2,100	-900	-3.4

Source: Current Population Reports, Series P-26, No. 76-24 (November, 1977).

TABLE 2

TOTAL POPULATION, NUMBER, AND PERCENT, BY RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

		Urban		Rural	
	Total	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Adams	37,293	19,704	52.8	17,589	47.2
Alcorn	27,179	11,581	42.6	15,598	51.4
Amite	13,763	-	-	13,763	100.0
Attain	19,570	7,266	37.1	12,304	62.9
Benton	7,505	-	-	7,505	100.0
Bolivar	49,409	21,062	42.6	28,347	57.4
Calhoun	14,623	-	-	14,623	100.0
Carroll	9,397	-	-	9,397	100.0
Chickasaw	16,805	5,722	34.0	11,083	66.0
Choctaw	8,440	-	-	8,440	100.0
Claiborne	10,086	2,589	25.7	7,497	74.3
Clarke	15,049	2,702	18.0	12,347	82.0
Clay	18,840	8,714	46.3	10,126	53.7
Coahoma	40,447	21,673	53.6	19,774	46.4
Copiah	24,749	8,757	35.4	15,992	64.6
Covington	14,002	-	-	14,002	100.0
DeSoto	35,885	8,931	24.9	26,954	75.1
Forrest	57,849	44,979	77.8	12,870	22.2
Franklin	8,011	-	-	8,011	100.0
George	12,459	-	-	12,459	100.0
Greene	8,545	-	-	8,545	100.0
Grenada	19,854	9,944	50.1	9,910	49.9
Hancock	17,387	9,860	56.7	7,527	43.3
Harrison	134,582	111,684	83.0	22,898	17.0
Hinds	214,973	180,421	83.9	34,552	16.1
Holmes	23,120	5,508	23.8	17,612	76.2
Humphreys	14,601	3,146	21.5	11,455	78.5
Issaquena	2,737	-	-	2,737	100.0
Itawamba	16,847	2,899	17.2	13,948	82.8
Jackson	87,975	62,672	71.2	25,303	28.8
Jasper	15,994	-	-	15,994	100.0
Jefferson	9,295	-	-	9,295	100.0
Jefferson Davis	12,936	-	-	12,936	100.0
Jones	56,357	28,788	51.1	27,569	49.9
Kemper	10,233	-	-	10,233	100.0
Lafayette	24,181	13,846	57.3	10,335	42.7
Lamar	15,209	284	1.9	14,925	98.1
Lauderdale	67,087	45,083	67.2	22,004	32.8
Lawrence	11,137	-	-	11,137	100.0
Leake	17,085	3,031	17.7	14,054	82.3

Lee	46,148	20,471	44.4	25,677	55.6
Leflore	42,111	22,400	53.2	19,711	46.8
Lincoln	26,198	10,700	40.8	15,498	59.2
Lowndes	49,700	29,869	60.1	19,831	39.9
Madison	29,737	10,503	35.3	19,234	64.7
Marion	22,871	7,587	33.2	15,284	66.8
Marshall	24,027	5,728	23.8	18,299	75.2
Monroe	34,043	13,393	39.3	20,650	61.7
Montgomery	12,918	5,521	42.7	7,397	57.3
Neshoba	20,802	6,274	30.2	14,528	69.8
Newton	18,983	3,556	18.7	15,427	81.3
Noxubee	14,288	2,612	18.3	11,676	81.7
Oktibbeha	28,752	15,694	55.5	12,788	44.5
Panola	26,829	3,796	14.1	23,033	85.9
Pearl River	27,802	10,467	37.6	17,335	62.4
Perry	9,065	-	-	9,065	100.0
Pike	31,756	11,969	37.7	19,787	62.3
Pontotoc	17,363	3,453	19.9	13,910	80.1
Prentiss	20,133	5,895	29.3	14,238	70.7
Quitman	15,888	2,609	16.4	13,279	83.6
Rankin	43,933	12,324	28.1	31,609	71.9
Scott	21,369	6,757	31.6	14,612	68.4
Sharkey	8,937	-	-	8,937	100.0
Simpson	19,947	2,973	14.9	16,974	85.1
Smith	13,561	-	-	13,561	100.0
Stone	8,101	2,995	37.0	5,106	63.0
Sunflower	37,047	11,543	31.2	25,504	67.8
Tallahatchie	19,338	2,821	14.6	16,517	85.4
Tate	18,544	4,247	22.9	14,297	77.1
Tippah	15,852	3,482	22.0	12,370	78.0
Tishomingo	14,940	-	-	14,940	100.0
Tunica	11,854	-	-	11,854	100.0
Union	19,096	6,426	33.7	12,670	66.3
Walthall	12,500	-	-	12,500	100.0
Warren	44,981	25,478	56.6	19,503	43.4
Washington	70,581	48,908	69.3	21,673	30.7
Wayne	16,650	4,368	26.2	12,282	73.8
Webster	10,047	-	-	10,047	100.0
Wilkinson	11,099	-	-	11,099	100.0
Winston	18,406	6,626	36.0	11,780	64.0
Yalobusha	11,915	3,285	27.6	8,630	72.1
Yazoo	27,304	10,796	39.5	16,508	60.5

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1970

TABLE 3

ESTIMATED POPULATION, BY RACE AND SEX, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

	Male			Female		
	White	Black	Other	White	Black	Other
Adams	9,386	8,260	28	10,244	9,848	34
Alcorn	11,981	1,546	16	12,957	1,782	18
Amite	3,185	3,195	3	3,251	3,362	4
Attala	5,384	3,632	16	5,612	3,839	17
Benton	2,166	1,573	3	2,297	1,658	3
Bolivar	9,375	14,485	154	6,643	16,370	173
Calhoun	5,460	1,908	2	5,774	2,055	1
Carroll	2,228	2,218	5	2,240	2,403	6
Choctaw	3,148	1,167	2	3,252	1,328	3
Chickasaw	5,340	2,925	5	5,798	3,227	5
Claiborne	1,381	3,794	14	1,436	4,558	17
Clarke	4,838	2,678	11	5,082	2,880	11
Clay	4,874	4,598	8	5,229	5,281	10
Coahoma	6,549	11,544	90	7,002	13,312	103
Copiah	5,934	5,935	7	6,439	6,578	7
Covington	4,822	2,345	5	5,142	2,480	6
DeSoto	16,072	8,593	27	16,626	9,154	28
Forrest	22,492	6,897	88	24,457	8,367	99
Franklin	2,443	1,524	2	2,570	1,658	3
George	6,366	848	2	6,268	814	2
Greene	3,348	914	2	3,357	976	3
Grenada	5,315	4,127	5	5,921	4,627	5
Hancock	8,109	1,280	14	8,251	1,432	14
Harrison	63,750	11,926	438	56,155	12,629	402
Hinds	66,703	42,236	161	73,989	48,330	181
Holmes	3,378	7,013	14	3,612	7,967	16
Humphreys	2,438	4,350	24	2,512	4,850	26
Issaquena	449	698	3	418	729	3
Itawamba	8,202	488	7	8,579	517	7
Jackson	45,402	8,534	103	45,136	9,019	106
Jasper	5,489	4,684	9	5,708	501	9
Jefferson	1,046	3,163	1	1,128	3,460	2
Jefferson-Davis	3,203	3,131	2	3,264	3,398	2
Jones	21,642	6,868	73	22,975	7,663	79
Kemper	2,189	2,752	65	2,241	2,787	66
Lafayette	9,839	3.492	91	9,134	3,856	88
Lamar	8,049	1,191	5	8,165	1,284	6
Lauderdale	23,794	9,927	137	25,292	11,999	151
Lawrence	3,967	1,843	2	4,105	1,981	2
Leake	5,386	3,152	279	5,626	3,265	292

	Male			Female		
	White	Black	Other	White	Black	Other
Lee	19,955	5,000	16	21,015	5,697	17
Leflore	8,143	11,242	86	9,070	12,662	97
Lincoln	9,026	3,851	12	9,491	4,307	13
Lowndes	16,853	8,143	64	18,966	9,301	73
Madison	5,945	9,775	22	6,389	10,746	23
Marion	8,146	3,547	16	8,438	3,937	16
Marshall	4,994	8,008	19	5,196	8,663	20
Monroe	11,476	4,921	5	12,214	5,478	6
Montgomery	3,468	2,726	5	3,698	3,098	5
Neshoba	7,650	1,977	809	8,093	2,298	873
Newton	6,621	2,479	218	7,024	2,822	236
Noxubee	2,109	4,087	20	2,333	4,528	23
Oktibbeha	11,720	5,424	108	9,592	6,058	98
Panola	6,518	6,853	7	6,870	7,244	8
Pearl River	11,421	2,483	10	11,592	2,684	10
Perry	3,613	1,262	2	3,750	1,370	3
Pike	9,093	7,046	13	10,075	7,758	15
Pontotoc	7,546	1,632	7	8,051	1,757	7
Prentiss	9,205	1,191	2	9,778	1,322	2
Quitman	2,858	3,945	35	3,035	4,091	36
Rankin	21,249	8,273	34	21,739	8,571	34
Scott	7,272	3,500	31	7,604	3,860	33
Sharkey	1,295	2,358	12	1,362	2,561	12
Simpson	6,972	3,196	5	7,223	3,298	6
Smith	5,794	1,550	35	5,863	1,623	35
Stone	3,235	965	9	3,138	945	8
Sunflower	6,499	10,957	79	6,478	11,207	80
Tallahatchie	3,444	5,240	22	3,684	5,587	23
Tate	5,259	4,567	3	5,392	4,975	4
Tippah	7,303	1,485	6	7,754	1,445	7
Tishomingo	7,469	357	4	7,812	353	5
Tunica	1,413	3,795	6	1,526	4,053	7
Union	8,384	1,491	3	8,949	1,669	4
Walthall	3,722	2,479	4	3,859	2,731	5
Warren	13,892	9,127	79	15,006	10,909	87
Washington	15,676	18,101	153	16,450	20,751	169
Wayne	5,800	2,740	5	6,007	3,042	6
Webster	3,763	1,085	2	3,987	1,160	3
Wilkinson	1,592	3,278	5	1,674	3,546	5
Winston	5,604	3,599	72	5,938	3,910	77
Yalobusha	3,429	2,319	14	3,753	2,569	16
Yazoo	6,201	6,970	17	6,580	7,714	18

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*Sex and race estimated by applying 1970 Census ratios to 1976 population estimates.

Source: Labor Market Information for Affirmative Action Programs (Jackson: Research and Statistics Dept., Mississippi Employment Security Commission, 1978), pp. 30(1), 32(2).

TABLE 4. TOTAL, AND NUMBER AND PERCENT BELOW POVERTY, PERSONS AND FAMILIES, 1959 AND 1969, AND RELATED CHILDRED AGE 5 - 17, BELOW POVERTY, 1969

State and county	Persons						Families						Related children 5 to 17 years old (1969)		
	1969			1959			1969			1959					
	Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Mississippi, total. (82 counties)	2,184,355	768,605	35.4	2,151,918	1,173,910	54.5	534,444	154,354	28.9	500,501	240,036	47.9	630,288	261,079	41.5
Adams	37,043	13,153	35.5	38,211	17,303	45.3	9,106	2,807	30.8	8,730	3,423	39.2	11,378	4,387	38.6
Alcorn	27,035	8,778	33.1	25,451	12,784	50.2	7,500	1,669	22.3	6,559	2,936	44.8	8,489	1,723	24.6
Amite	13,749	6,717	48.8	15,069	10,103	64.5	3,273	1,379	42.1	3,526	1,985	56.3	4,120	2,345	56.9
Attala	19,564	8,669	44.3	21,880	13,444	61.4	4,989	1,855	37.2	5,120	2,883	56.3	5,479	2,911	53.1
Benton	7,480	3,424	45.7	7,413	5,406	72.9	1,778	678	38.2	1,732	1,079	62.3	2,300	1,269	55.0
Bolivar	48,157	25,069	52.1	54,580	39,515	72.4	10,280	4,559	44.3	11,290	7,435	65.9	15,573	9,472	60.8
Calhoun	14,503	5,496	37.7	16,378	9,687	59.3	3,835	1,245	32.5	3,989	2,344	58.3	4,093	1,766	43.8
Carroll	9,368	4,614	49.3	10,892	8,571	78.7	2,235	951	42.6	2,392	1,696	70.9	2,723	1,522	55.9
Chickasaw	16,778	6,160	36.7	17,402	9,960	57.0	4,171	1,334	32.0	4,136	2,173	52.5	4,789	2,032	42.3
Choctaw	8,430	3,416	40.5	8,630	5,895	68.3	2,188	766	35.1	2,128	1,370	64.4	2,217	1,039	46.9
Claiborne	9,300	4,845	52.1	10,178	7,567	74.4	2,104	904	43.0	2,262	1,509	66.7	2,871	1,779	62.0
Clarke	15,033	5,558	37.0	16,120	10,597	65.7	3,789	1,241	32.7	3,955	2,247	56.8	4,078	1,667	40.9
Clay	18,438	5,999	32.8	19,134	10,912	57.0	4,430	1,146	25.9	4,306	2,163	50.2	5,610	2,228	39.7
Coahoma	39,946	21,824	54.6	46,707	30,326	64.9	8,848	3,785	42.8	10,028	5,857	58.4	13,103	8,368	63.9
Copiah	24,292	10,120	41.6	26,787	17,106	63.9	5,786	2,049	35.4	6,344	3,583	56.5	7,291	3,591	49.3
Covington	13,984	5,174	37.0	14,378	8,449	58.8	3,447	1,090	31.6	3,236	1,814	56.1	4,164	1,788	42.9
De Soto	35,824	10,745	30.0	24,097	16,223	67.3	8,431	1,967	23.3	5,073	3,078	60.7	11,341	4,096	36.1
Forrest	54,468	15,157	27.8	50,376	20,139	39.8	14,151	3,098	21.9	12,528	4,348	34.7	14,132	4,631	32.8
Franklin	8,001	3,550	44.3	8,894	5,153	57.9	2,000	756	37.8	2,163	1,062	49.1	2,409	1,181	49.0
George	12,446	3,053	24.5	10,873	5,015	46.1	3,149	681	21.6	2,603	1,112	42.7	2,709	968	36.1
Greene	8,539	3,628	42.5	7,030	5,587	79.5	2,183	840	38.8	1,833	1,153	62.9	2,424	1,118	46.1
Grenada	19,813	6,534	33.3	18,917	10,553	55.8	4,940	1,377	27.9	4,354	2,181	50.1	5,550	2,177	39.2
Hancock	17,283	4,140	24.0	13,914	6,899	49.6	4,324	891	20.6	3,306	1,467	44.3	4,713	1,097	23.3
Harrison	133,833	25,104	20.3	109,118	36,305	33.3	31,600	5,474	17.3	27,093	7,724	28.5	35,663	7,965	22.3
Hinds	210,003	53,741	25.6	181,420	66,701	36.8	51,873	9,983	19.1	43,983	12,897	29.3	[illegible]	10,163	31.9
Holmes	23,630	14,041	62.1	27,464	20,310	73.9	3,048	2,873	63.0	8,876	4,031	68.6	7,350	5,074	70.0
Humphreys	14,342	9,304	64.5	19,100	14,814	77.3	3,166	1,704	53.8	3,811	2,806	71.8	4,833	3,661	75.7
Issaquena	2,737	1,367	50.0	3,337	2,732	81.6	576	342	43.0	731	532	70.6	898	473	52.7
Itawamba	16,697	4,233	25.4	15,137	7,451	49.2	4,736	1,200	25.3	4,003	1,915	47.8	4,095	1,007	26.8
Jackson	87,434	11,830	13.5	54,873	15,116	27.7	21,852	2,469	11.3	13,327	3,138	23.5	26,008	3,882	15.0
Jasper	15,968	7,571	47.4	16,836	10,473	62.2	3,983	1,616	40.5	3,868	2,126	55.0	4,885	2,390	51.0
Jefferson	9,280	6,239	67.2	10,038	8,030	79.8	2,042	1,188	58.3	2,143	1,575	73.8	3,056	2,303	75.4
Jefferson Davis	12,769	5,584	43.7	13,725	9,234	67.2	3,020	1,183	39.2	3,036	1,916	63.1	3,843	1,980	51.5
Jones	54,326	14,833	27.2	58,613	23,235	39.5	14,308	3,218	22.5	14,240	4,975	34.9	14,836	4,384	29.6
Kemper	10,063	5,648	56.1	11,630	8,638	74.0	2,331	1,124	48.4	3,078	1,774	66.3	3,046	1,955	64.1
Lafayette	20,906	7,140	34.2	19,040	10,290	54.0	5,416	1,538	28.4	4,888	2,180	47.3	5,533	2,173	39.3
Lamar	15,132	4,920	32.5	13,570	6,444	47.5	3,834	1,066	27.8	3,376	1,435	43.1	4,373	1,675	38.3
Lauderdale	64,603	18,702	29.0	67,067	28,394	42.3	16,833	3,830	22.7	16,844	6,049	26.3	16,400	5,540	33.8
Lawrence	11,112	4,531	40.8	10,260	6,010	58.5	2,840	1,040	36.6	2,483	1,363	54.8	3,308	1,439	43.5
Leake	17,075	7,588	44.4	18,921	12,475	65.9	4,488	1,720	38.3	4,335	2,611	60.2	4,884	2,428	51.8
Lee	45,873	10,517	22.9	40,701	17,518	43.0	12,315	2,343	18.7	10,443	3,904	37.4	12,131	3,200	26.4
Leflore	41,469	19,566	47.2	46,721	30,164	64.6	9,334	3,467	38.3	10,141	5,628	55.5	13,867	7,314	56.4
Lincoln	25,940	9,043	34.8	26,508	12,841	48.4	6,694	1,844	28.0	6,312	2,784	43.0	7,164	2,883	40.2
Lowndes	47,024	13,532	28.8	45,655	20,640	45.2	11,602	2,736	23.1	10,772	4,230	39.3	13,574	4,607	33.9
Madison	29,340	14,306	48.8	33,285	22,038	66.9	6,471	2,563	39.6	6,719	4,250	63.3	9,314	5,247	55.3
Marion	22,493	9,369	41.6	23,415	12,572	53.7	5,630	2,072	36.7	5,877	2,800	47.7	6,802	3,141	46.2
Marshall	23,366	12,303	52.6	23,481	17,283	73.5	5,108	2,241	43.9	4,746	3,091	65.1	6,034	4,784	59.6
Monroe	33,969	10,035	29.5	34,369	17,132	49.9	8,765	2,101	24.0	8,331	3,673	44.1	9,383	3,375	36.0
Montgomery	12,822	5,780	45.1	13,776	8,388	62.4	3,237	1,217	37.6	3,176	1,875	59.0	3,673	1,907	51.9
Neshoba	20,601	7,367	36.6	21,148	12,394	58.3	5,316	1,648	29.9	5,160	2,714	52.6	5,573	2,345	42.1
Newton	18,484	6,362	34.3	19,043	11,136	58.8	4,870	1,453	29.2	4,743	2,500	52.7	4,802	1,830	38.0
Noxubee	14,288	8,394	59.0	17,138	12,673	74.0	3,082	1,463	47.3	3,528	2,367	67.1	4,834	3,219	66.2
Oktibbeha	25,709	9,616	27.3	23,336	13,406	56.9	6,130	1,763	28.7	5,421	2,680	49.4	7,481	3,646	48.7
Panola	26,798	12,009	44.8	28,947	20,104	69.5	6,245	2,390	38.3	6,416	3,948	61.5	8,271	4,341	52.5
Pearl River	27,460	8,096	29.5	22,386	10,460	46.3	6,901	1,807	25.8	5,420	2,257	41.6	7,835	2,554	32.2

	Persons						Families						Related children 5 to 17 years old (1969)		
	1969			1959			1969			1959					
	Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level		Total	Below poverty level	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
Perry	9,057	3,253	35.9	8,795	5,268	59.9	2,240	689	30.8	1,983	1,138	57.2	2,726	1,032	38.6
Pike	31,419	12,134	38.6	34,841	18,561	53.3	7,776	2,396	30.8	8,417	3,761	44.7	8,946	4,277	47.8
Pontotoc	17,282	5,926	34.3	17,246	10,372	60.1	4,701	1,522	32.4	4,541	2,624	57.8	4,320	1,535	35.5
Prentiss	19,976	5,719	28.6	17,375	10,416	59.9	5,475	1,331	24.3	4,586	2,464	53.7	4,907	1,552	31.6
Quitman	15,706	9,153	58.3	21,379	15,833	74.1	3,416	1,701	49.8	4,315	2,968	68.8	5,337	3,656	68.5
Rankin	39,334	7,436	18.9	30,378	13,162	43.3	9,993	1,559	15.6	6,938	2,604	37.5	11,552	2,529	21.9
Scott	21,323	7,997	37.5	21,360	13,075	61.2	5,345	1,720	32.2	5,005	2,767	55.3	6,344	2,579	40.7
Sharkey	8,927	5,091	57.0	10,735	7,868	73.4	1,831	864	47.2	2,176	1,373	63.1	2,967	2,047	69.0
Simpson	19,636	7,032	35.8	20,599	12,043	58.5	5,000	1,500	30.0	4,759	2,553	53.6	5,532	2,243	40.5
Smith	13,334	4,635	34.8	14,515	8,593	59.2	3,603	1,171	32.5	3,416	1,831	53.6	3,701	1,346	36.4
Stone	7,635	2,166	28.4	6,785	3,363	49.6	1,960	459	23.4	1,655	746	45.1	2,123	667	31.4
Sunflower	53,147	20,099	37.8	44,876	32,424	72.3	7,706	3,558	46.2	9,115	5,996	65.8	11,653	7,513	64.5
Tallahatchie	19,179	11,761	61.3	24,679	18,765	76.0	4,259	2,126	49.9	5,141	3,628	70.6	6,227	4,385	70.4
Tate	17,847	7,332	41.1	18,063	12,331	68.3	4,192	1,385	33.0	3,830	2,362	61.7	5,863	3,018	51.5
Tippah	15,703	5,594	35.6	15,339	8,480	55.3	4,309	1,376	31.9	3,827	2,065	54.0	4,037	1,474	36.5
Tishomingo	14,939	3,868	25.9	13,817	7,442	53.9	4,206	1,028	24.4	3,696	1,906	51.6	3,561	896	25.2
Tunica	11,794	7,816	66.3	17,267	13,469	78.0	2,310	1,285	55.6	3,469	2,569	74.1	4,081	3,073	75.3
Union	19,001	6,304	33.2	19,364	11,368	58.7	5,307	1,464	27.6	4,846	2,656	54.8	4,515	1,638	36.3
Walthall	12,437	5,398	43.4	13,927	8,412	60.4	3,076	1,093	35.5	3,142	1,690	53.8	3,660	1,787	48.8
Warren	44,533	12,468	28.0	41,601	19,756	47.5	10,809	2,400	22.2	10,005	4,126	41.2	12,947	4,114	31.8
Washington	70,176	29,048	41.4	77,507	42,840	55.3	18,615	6,347	34.1	17,382	8,333	47.9	22,430	10,658	47.5
Wayne	16,338	6,891	42.2	15,881	9,735	61.3	4,025	1,469	36.5	3,694	1,922	52.0	4,937	2,349	47.6
Webster	9,943	3,826	38.5	10,084	6,368	63.1	2,623	889	33.9	2,563	1,509	58.9	2,648	1,170	44.2
Wilkinson	11,094	3,699	33.3	13,931	9,850	70.7	2,461	1,180	47.9	2,769	1,892	68.3	3,783	2,262	59.8
Winston	18,356	7,216	39.3	19,878	11,384	57.3	4,703	1,544	32.8	4,600	2,333	50.7	5,119	2,295	44.8
Yalobusha	11,820	5,331	45.1	12,900	7,723	59.9	3,087	1,149	37.2	2,937	1,623	55.3	3,355	1,618	48.2
Yazoo	27,180	13,953	51.3	32,900	20,548	62.5	6,406	2,716	42.4	7,080	4,132	58.4	8,649	4,903	56.7

Source: U.S. Census of Population, Supplementary Report, "Poverty Status in 1969 and 1959 of Persons and Families, for States, SMSA's, Central Cities, and Counties: 1970 and 1960", PC (SI) -105 (December, 1975).

TABLE 5

FAMILIES WITH REPORTED INCOME LESS THAN $3,000, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

COUNTY	NUMBER OF FAMILIES	INCOMES UNDER $3,000		FAMILIES WITH INCOME		
		NUMBER	PERCENT	UNDER 1,000	1,000- 1,999	2,000 2,999
Adams	9,106	2,056	22.5	693	781	582
Alcorn	7,500	1,612	21.5	370	723	519
Amite	3,273	1,276	39.3	440	498	338
Attala	4,989	1,690	33.9	488	637	565
Benton	1,776	611	34.4	290	210	111
Bolivar	10,280	3,919	38.1	1,216	1,491	1,212
Calhoun	3,835	770	31.8	450	461	309
Carroll	2,235	832	37.2	284	276	172
Chickasaw	4,171	1,128	27.0	367	495	266
Choctaw	2,182	697	31.9	230	298	169
Claiborne	2,104	746	35.5	255	275	216
Clarke	3,799	1,104	29.1	349	413	342
Clay	4,430	1,063	24.0	355	412	296
Coahoma	8,846	3,374	38.1	912	1,327	1,135
Copiah	5,786	1,840	31.8	451	785	604
Covington	3,447	870	25.2	271	399	200
DeSoto	8,431	1,564	18.6	499	579	486
Forrest	14,151	2,782	19.7	664	996	1,122
Franklin	2,000	678	33.9	179	271	228
George	3,149	683	21.7	128	221	334
Greene	2,163	680	31.4	144	336	200
Grenada	4,940	1,243	25.2	361	455	427
Hancock	4,324	835	19.3	156	299	380
Harrison	31,600	4,902	15.5	1,236	1,621	2,045
Hinds	51,873	8,218	15.8	2,959	3,056	2,203
Holmes	5,042	2,478	49.1	772	932	774
Humphreys	3,166	1,464	46.2	462	488	514
Issaquena	576	210	36.5	93	63	54
Itawamba	4,738	1,118	23.6	238	523	357
Jackson	21,852	2,025	9.3	517	717	791
Jasper	3,993	1,364	34.2	429	498	437
Jefferson	2,042	1,014	49.7	285	471	258
Jefferson Davis	3,020	1,097	36.5	442	367	288
Jones	14,309	2,961	20.7	676	1,201	1,084
Kemper	2,321	1,047	45.1	354	435	258
Lafayette	5,416	1,327	24.5	402	519	406
Lamar	3,934	855	21.7	176	338	341
Lauderdale	16,923	3,352	19.8	835	1,268	1,249
Lawrence	2,840	934	32.9	312	340	282
Leake	4,489	1,664	37.1	388	693	583
Lee	12,515	2,075	16.6	471	884	720
Leflore	9,554	2,877	30.1	640	1,137	1,100
Lincoln	6,694	1,537	24.5	468	706	463
Lowndes	11,802	2,293	19.4	645	897	751
Madison	6,471	1,990	30.8	587	749	654
Marion	5,650	1,742	30.8	457	659	626
Marshall	5,109	1,714	33.5	516	715	483
Monroe	8,765	1,986	22.7	432	854	700

Montgomery	3,237		34.7	351	514	258
Neshoba	5,516	1,511	27.4	523	610	378
Newton	4,970	1,376	27.7	459	555	362
Noxubee	3,092	1,227	39.7	342	535	350
Oktibbeha	6,150	1,595	25.9	535	695	365
Panola	6,245	2,135	34.2	697	817	620
Pearl River	6,981	1,514	21.7	527	604	383
Perry	2,240	571	25.5	177	241	153
Pike	7,776	1,951	25.1	722	809	420
Pontotoc	4,701	1,492	31.7	564	702	226
Prentiss	5,475	1,271	23.2	454	527	290
Quitman	3,416	1,513	44.3	430	596	487
Rankin	9,993	1,391	13.9	540	524	327
Scott	5,345	1,446	27.1	548	573	325
Sharkey	1,831	750	41.0	343	252	155
Simpson	5,000	1,272	25.4	449	521	302
Smith	3,605	1,131	31.4	347	429	355
Stone	1,960	390	19.9	185	102	103
Sunflower	7,706	3,035	39.4	977	1,221	837
Tallahatchie	4,259	1,967	46.2	664	837	466
Tate	4,192	1,192	28.4	410	519	263
Tappah	4,309	1,219	28.3	422	595	202
Tishomingo	4,208	1,082	25.7	361	446	275
Tunica	2,310	1,206	52.0	443	521	242
Union	5,307	1,350	25.4	509	555	286
Walthall	3,078	964	31.3	365	357	242
Warren	10,809	2,011	18.7	686	804	521
Washington	15,815	4,287	27.1	1,279	1,784	1,224
Wayne	4,025	1,233	30.6	422	559	252
Webster	2,623	833	31.8	253	345	235
Wilkinson	2,461	956	39.2	384	348	233
Winston	4,703	1,319	28.1	399	613	307
Yalobusha	3,087	1,035	33.5	343	438	254
Yazoo	6,408	2,367	36.9	642	1,011	714

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 6

NUMBER OF POOR, SEVERELY POOR, AND NEAR POOR FAMILIES, AND PERCENT OF TOTAL, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

COUNTY	POOR[1]		SEVERELY POOR[2]		NEAR POOR[3]	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Adams	2,607	28.6	1,950	21.4	3,071	33.7
Alcorn	1,669	22.3	1,120	14.9	2,128	28.4
Amite	1,379	42.1	1,065	32.5	1,671	51.1
Attala	1,855	37.2	1,423	28.5	2,201	44.1
Benton	678	38.2	474	26.7	816	45.9
Bolivar	4,559	44.3	3,671	35.7	5,308	51.6
Calhoun	1,245	32.5	910	23.7	1,630	42.5
Carroll	951	42.6	703	31.5	1,151	51.5
Chickasaw	1,334	32.0	931	22.3	1,625	39.0
Choctaw	766	35.1	579	26.5	916	42.0
Claiborne	884	42.0	654	31.1	1,056	50.2
Clarke	1,241	32.7	890	23.4	1,496	39.4
Clay	1,446	25.9	890	20.1	1,490	33.6
Coahoma	3,785	42.8	3,060	34.6	4,458	50.4
Copiah	2,049	35.4	1,537	26.6	2,517	43.5
Covington	1,090	31.6	819	23.8	1,364	39.6
DeSoto	1,967	23.3	1,488	17.6	2,473	29.3
Forrest	3,096	21.9	2,184	15.4	4,203	29.7
Franklin	756	37.8	522	26.1	926	46.3
George	681	21.6	440	14.0	962	30.5
Greene	840	38.8	568	26.3	1,068	49.4
Grenada	1,377	27.9	1,035	21.0	1,709	34.6
Hancock	891	20.6	557	12.9	1,267	29.3
Harrison	5,474	17.3	3,532	11.2	7,693	24.3
Hinds	9,923	19.1	7,137	13.8	12,812	24.7
Holmes	2,673	53.0	2,165	42.9	3,047	60.4
Humphreys	1,704	53.8	1,373	43.4	1,931	61.0
Issaquena	242	42.0	195	33.9	306	53.1
Itawamba	1,200	25.3	771	16.3	1,582	33.4
Jackson	2.469	11.3	1,602	7.3	3,749	17.2
Jasper	1,616	40.5	1,263	31.6	1,927	48.3
Jefferson	1,189	58.2	974	47.7	1,401	68.6
Jefferson Davis	1,183	39.2	966	32.0	1,472	48.7
Jones	3,218	22.5	2,162	15.1	4,272	29.9
Kemper	1,124	48.4	918	39.6	1,310	56.4
Lafayette	1,538	28.4	1,105	20.4	1,990	36.7
Lamar	1,086	27.6	662	16.8	1,459	37.1
Lauderdale	3,839	22.7	2,690	15.9	5.064	29.9
Lawrence	1,040	36.6	774	27.3	1,194	42.0
Leake	1,720	38.3	1,248	27.8	2,134	47.5
Lee	2,342	18.7	1,596	12.8	3,234	25.8
Leflore	3,467	36.8	2,524	26.4	4,148	43.4

Lincoln	1,944	29.0	1,370	20.5	2,456	36.7
Lowndes	2,726	23.1	1,950	16.5	3,586	30.4
Madison	2,533	39.5	1,835	26.4	3,133	45.3
Marion	2,072	36.7	1,492	26.4	2,562	45.3
Marshall	2,241	43.9	1,737	34.0	2,619	51.3
Monroe	2,101	24.0	1,541	17.6	2,922	33.3
Montgomery	1,217	37.6	903	27.9	1,434	44.3
Neshoba	1,648	29.9	1,134	20.6	2,039	37.0
Newton	1,453	29.2	1,046	21.0	1,906	38.4
Noxubee	1,463	47.3	1,185	38.3	1,703	55.1
Oktibbeha	1,763	28.7	1,349	21.9	2,210	35.0
Panola	2,390	38.3	1,804	28.9	2,818	45.1
Pearl River	1,807	25.9	1,279	18.3	2,291	32.8
Perry	689	30.8	479	21.4	955	42.6
Pike	2,396	30.8	1,684	21.7	3.037	29.1
Pontotoc	1,522	32.4	1,041	22.1	1,862	39.6
Prentiss	1,351	24.7	870	15.9	1,835	33.5
Quitman	1,701	49.8	1,365	40.0	1,926	56.4
Rankin	1,559	15.6	1,073	10.7	2,256	22.6
Scott	1,720	32.2	1,180	22.1	2,213	41.4
Sharkey	864	47.2	672	36.7	1,011	55.2
Simpson	1,500	30.0	1,068	21.4	1,937	38.7
Smith	1,171	32.5	891	24.7	1,395	38.7
Stone	459	23.4	294	15.0	596	30.4
Sunflower	3,559	46.2	2,831	36.7	4,109	53.3
Tallahatchie	2,126	49.9	1,667	39.1	2,372	55.7
Tate	1,385	33.0	1,040	24.8	1,734	41.4
Tippah	1,376	31.9	926	21.5	1,806	41.9
Tishomingo	1,028	24.4	700	16.6	1,474	35.0
Tunica	1,285	55.6	949	41.1	1,506	65.2
Union	1,464	27.6	971	18.3	1,825	34.4
Walthall	1,093	35.5	770	25.0	1,364	44.3
Warren	2,400	22.2	1,629	15.1	3,127	28.9
Washington	5,387	34.1	4,011	25.4	6,535	41.3
Wayne	1,469	36.5	1,053	26.2	1,754	43.6
Webster	889	33.9	681	26.0	1,123	42.8
Wilkinson	1,180	47.9	787	32.0	1,430	58.1
Winston	1,554	32.8	1,110	23.6	1,827	38.8
Yalobusha	1,149	37.2	794	25.7	1,375	44.5
Yazoo	2,716	42.4	2,172	33.9	3,115	48.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

1. Below 100% of poverty level
2. Below 75% of poverty level
3. Below 125% of poverty level

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF SEVERELY POOR, AND NEAR POOR PERSONS, AND PERCENT OF TOTAL, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

COUNTIES	POOR		SEVERELY POOR		NEAR POOR	
	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Adams	13,153	35.5	9,553	25.7	14,877	40.1
Alcorn	6,778	25.1	4,701	17.3	8,585	31.7
Amite	6,717	48.9	5,190	37.7	7,896	57.4
Attala	8,661	44.3	6,699	34.2	9,977	51.0
Benton	3,424	45.7	2,654	35.4	4,032	53.7
Bolivar	25,069	52.1	20.585	41.8	29,070	59.0
Calhoun	5,496	37.7	3,995	27.3	6,890	47.1
Carroll	4,614	49.2	3,617	38.5	5,380	57.3
Chickasaw	6,160	36.7	4,217	25.1	7,534	44.8
Choctaw	3,416	40.5	2,534	30.0	4,167	49.4
Claiborne	4,845	52.1	3,570	35.4	5,615	55.7
Clarke	5,559	37.0	4,173	27.7	6,677	44.4
Clay	5,999	32.6	4,779	25.4	7,718	41.1
Coahoma	21,824	54.6	17,541	43.5	24,133	59.9
Copiah	10,129	41.7	7,949	32.2	12,215	49.5
Covington	5,174	37.0	3,759	26.8	6,427	45.9
Desoto	10,745	30.0	8,233	23.0	13,239	36.9
Forrest	15,157	27.8	11,080	19.2	19,618	34.1
Franklin	3,559	44.5	2,585	32.3	4,144	51.7
George	3,053	24.5	1,883	15.1	4,163	33.4
Greene	3,626	42.5	2,505	29.3	4,584	53.7
Grenada	6,534	33.3	5,068	25.8	8,112	41.3
Hancock	4,140	24.0	2,818	16.3	5,811	33.5
Harrison	25,104	20.3	16,869	13.6	34,909	28.1
Hinds	53,714	25.6	39,461	18.4	66,761	31.2
Holmes	14,041	62.0	11,642	50.4	15,695	67.9
Humphreys	9,394	64.5	7,791	53.4	10,167	69.6
Issaquena	1,367	49.9	1,037	37.9	1,631	59.2
Itawamba	4,233	25.4	2,764	16.5	5,801	34.5
Jackson	11,830	13.5	7,570	8.6	18,270	20.9
Jasper	7,571	47.4	5,756	36.0	8,633	54.0
Jefferson	6,239	67.2	5,121	55.1	7,060	76.0
Jefferson Davis	5,584	43.7	4,552	35.1	6,805	52.6
Jones	14,835	27.2	10,239	18.7	19,017	34.7
Kemper	5,648	56.1	4,625	45.2	6,573	64.2
Lafayette	7,140	34.2	5,187	21.6	9,032	37.6
Lamar	4,929	32.5	3,280	21.6	6,439	42.4
Lauderdale	18,762	29.0	13,411	20.7	23,814	36.8
Lawrence	4,531	40.8	3,489	31.3	5,095	45.7
Leake	7,588	44.4	5,571	32.6	9,022	52.8
Lee	10,517	22.9	1,177	15.0	13,896	30.2
Leflore	19,598	47.3	14,800	35.4	22,309	53.3

Lincoln	9,043	34.9	6,464	24.8	11,159	42.8
Lowndes	13,532	28.8	9,725	20.0	17,218	35.4
Madison	14,305	48.8	10,107	34.1	16,691	56.3
Marion	9,349	41.6	6,819	30.3	11,678	51.9
Marshall	12,393	52.6	9,733	40.6	14,145	59.0
Monroe	10,025	29.5	7,580	22.3	13,326	39.2
Montgomery	5,780	45.1	4,388	34.1	6,714	52.2
Neshoba	7,567	36.6	5,421	26.2	9,002	43.4
Newton	6,362	34.5	4,563	24.0	8,011	42.2
Noxubee	8,394	59.0	6,873	48.1	9,297	65.1
Oktibbeha	9,618	37.3	8,048	28.0	11,823	41.1
Panola	12,009	44.8	9,371	34.9	14,250	53.1
Pearl River	8,096	29.5	5,999	21.6	10,268	37.0
Perry	3,252	35.9	2,312	25.5	4,383	48.4
Pike	12,124	38.6	8,998	28.4	14,867	47.0
Pontotoc	5,928	34.3	4,200	24.3	7,158	41.4
Prentiss	5,719	28.6	3,831	19.1	7,615	38.0
Quitman	9,153	58.3	7,872	50.0	10,364	65.9
Rankin	7,458	18.9	4,971	12.6	10,837	27.4
Scott	7,997	37.5	5,381	25.2	9,902	46.4
Sharkey	5,091	57.0	4,114	46.0	5,843	65.4
Simpson	7,032	35.8	5,204	26.5	8,793	44.7
Smith	4,635	34.2	3,391	25.0	5,508	40.6
Stone	2,166	28.4	1,388	17.3	2,815	35.1
Sunflower	20,289	57.8	16,158	45.6	22,283	62.9
Tallahatchie	11,761	61.3	9,699	50.2	12,681	65.6
Tate	7,332	41.1	5,858	31.6	9,097	49.1
Tippah	5,594	35.6	3,515	22.2	7,055	44.6
Tishomingo	3,868	25.9	2,709	18.1	5,486	36.7
Tunica	7,816	66.3	6,337	53.7	8,870	.1
Union	6,304	33.2	4,125	21.7	7,320	38.5
Walthall	5,398	43.4	4,062	32.6	6,415	51.5
Warren	12,468	28.0	8,670	19.4	15,935	35.7
Washington	29,048	41.4	21,955	31.2	34,465	49.0
Wayne	6,971	42.2	5,263	31.7	8,087	48.7
Webster	3,826	38.5	3,019	30.1	4,770	47.5
Wilkinson	5,899	53.2	4,215	38.0	7,162	64.5
Winston	7,218	39.3	5,331	29.0	8,416	45.7
Yalobusha	5,331	45.1	3,592	30.2	5,973	49.8
Yazoo	13,952	51.3	11,074	40.7	15,150	55.6

TABLE 8

ETHNIC COMPOSITION, PERSONS BELOW POVERTY, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

County	White	Black	Other Nonwhite	Spanish Speaking
State	242,628	520,746	3,231	1,253
Adams	1,733	11,385	35	10
Alcorn	5,042	1,730	6	12
Amite	2,048	4,669	0	0
Attala	2,608	6,021	40	*
Benton	1,277	2,147	0	0
Bolivar	3,460	21,586	23	227
Calhoun	2,897	2,599	0	30
Carroll	1,030	3,584	0	0
Chickasaw	2,812	3,548	0	*
Choctaw	1,885	1,531	0	*
Claiborne	281	4,564	0	*
Clarke	2,110	3,434	15	*
Clay	1,148	4,851	0	*
Coahoma	1,692	20,000	42	0
Copiah	2,450	7,679	0	0
Covington	2,051	3,123	0	0
DeSoto	2,720	8,025	0	0
Forrest	7,350	7,720	87	60
Franklin	1,146	2,413	0	0
George	2,344	709	0	0
Greene	2,321	1,305	0	0
Grenada	1,589	4,945	0	*
Hancock	3,036	1,104	0	13
Harrison	14,537	10,437	130	276
Hinds	11,293	42,353	95	83
Holmes	1,853	12,168	0	0
Humphreys	1,399	7,983	12	*
Issaquena	159	1,208	0	*
Itawamba	3,801	432	0	*
Jackson	7,544	4,270	16	63
Jasper	2,136	5,440	0	0
Jefferson	658	5,581	0	0
Jefferson Davis	1,451	4,133	0	0
Jones	7,515	7,265	55	*
Kemper	1,304	4,184	180	*
Lafayette	2,899	4,235	6	0
Lamar	3,474	1,455	0	0
Lauderdale	6,378	12,324	60	67
Lawrence	2,038	2,489	4	0
Leake	2,999	4,143	446	*
Lee	5,802	4,715	0	0

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Lefore	2,652	16,839	107	7
Lincoln	3,797	5,226	20	*
Lowndes	3,417	10,115	0	42
Madison	1,580	12,725	0	*
Marion	4,509	4,814	39	0
Marshall	1,756	10,637	0	0
Monroe	3,949	6,076	0	*
Montgomery	1,760	4,020	0	0
Neshoba	3,926	2,758	883	*
Newton	2,827	3,191	344	18
Noxubee	897	7,488	9	0
Oktibbeha	2,976	6,553	89	0
Panola	2,708	9,294	7	*
Pearl River	5,469	2,607	20	0
Perry	1,909	1,338	5	0
Pike	3,389	8,735	0	53
Pontotoc	3,955	1,973	0	0
Prentiss	4,566	1,153	0	*
Quitman	1,650	7,503	0	*
Rankin	2,701	4,709	48	0
Scott	3,725	4,272	0	*
Sharkey	436	4,655	0	0
Simpson	3,496	3,536	0	*
Smith	2,796	1,790	49	*
Stone	1,163	1,003	0	*
Sunflower	2,376	17,872	51	54
Tallahatchie	2,182	9,574	5	0
Tate	1,566	5,766	0	0
Tippah	4,007	1,587	0	0
Tishomingo	3,508	360	0	0
Tunica	706	7,110	0	*
Union	4,155	2,149	0	0
Walthall	1,819	3,579	0	0
Warren	2,344	10,107	17	0
Washington	4,343	24,613	92	106
Wayne	2,842	4,119	10	*
Webster	2,201	1,625	0	0
Wilkinson	623	5,258	18	*
Winston	2,134	4,914	170	0
Yalobusha	1,937	3,394	0	*
Yazoo	1,820	12,132	0	*

Source: Fourth Count Summary Tape

TABLE 9

PERCENT OF BLACK FAMILIES WITH BELOW POVERTY INCOME, MISSISSIPPI, 1959 AND 1969

	Percent Poor			Percent Poor	
County	1959	1969	County	1959	1969
Adams	71.8	57.5	Leflore	87.3	61.6
Alcorn	84.2	48.3	Lincoln	85.5	59.9
Amite	84.2	69.	Lowndes	80.9	56.2
Attala	88.	68.7	Madison	86.	61.9
Benton	90.6	65.4	Marion	84.9	69.2
Bolivar	91.4	68.9	Marshall	89.4	68.4
Calhoun	82.4	63.9	Monroe	83.7	55.3
Carroll	94.4	72.1	Montgomery	88.5	67.3
Chickasaw	62.6	55.9	Neshoba	86.6	59.9
Choctaw	93.4	63.4	Newton	87.2	58.7
Claiborne	89.9	61.2	Noxubee	92.8	74.3
Clarke	88.4	58.7	Oktibbeha	84.3	60.2
Clay	84.	51.2	Panola	94.4	65.6
Coahoma	85.2	68.4	Pearl Rivery	72.3	49.3
Copiah	88.3	57.8	Perry	90.6	55.9
Covington	85.1	62.9	Pike	79.1	57.2
DeSoto	88.6	61.5	Pontotoc	91.3	60.1
Forrest	68.	49.1	Prentiss	89.6	47.1
Franklin	86.7	72.1	Quitman	93.5	81.7
George	73.7	44.6	Rankin	78.1	43.3
Greene	83.8	71.7	Scott	88.1	55.7
Grenada	85.5	51.8	Sharkey	90.3	76.6
Hancock	73.8	41.3	Simpson	81.	55.1
Harrison	61.9	44.3	Smith	86.9	60.9
Hinds	66.9	44.8	Stone	78.9	44.7
Holmes	92.3	73.1	Sunflower	85.8	72.3
Humphreys	92.8	77.4	Tallahatchie	92.7	79.5
Issaquena	98.	62.8	Tate	92.	64.7
Itawamba	NA	50.	Tippah	84.	51.9
Jackson	46.	27.8	Tishomingo	NA	45.3
Jasper	84.8	66.7	Tunica	93.4	76.7
Jefferson	92.7	73.6	Union	84.	57.6
Jefferson Davis	88.1	63.5	Walthall	91.	64.6
Jones	70.6	50.9	Warren	78.6	49.
Kemper	91.	74	Washington	80.8	59.4
Lafayette	84.1	55.9	Wayne	83.9	67.8
Lamar	85.3	72.3	Webster	92.1	69.6
Lauderdale	76.6	55.6	Wilkinson	87.6	68.3
Lawrence	83.1	65.8	Winston	86.6	62.3
Leake	89.	63.4	Yalobusha	90.5	63.2
Lee	78.	42.4	Yazoo	89.5	75.7

Source: Census of Population.

TABLE 10

ESTIMATED PERSONS IN POVERTY, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

County	Deviation from State % 1969	% Poor 1975 based on application of 1969 deviation to 1975 state poverty levels.	Estimated No. of Poor in 1975 based on 1975 population estimates.
Adams	-	26.1	10,100
Alcorn	-29.1	18.3	5,300
Amite	+38.0	36.0	4,700
Attala	+25.1	32.6	6,200
Benton	+29.1	33.7	2,200
Bolivar	+47.2	38.4	18,400
Calhoun	+6.5	27.8	4,300
Carroll	+39.0	36.2	3,100
Chickasaw	+4.6	27.3	4,700
Choctaw	+14.4	29.9	3,000
Claiborne	+47.2	38.4	4,100
Clarke	+4.5	27.3	4,100
Clay	-7.9	24.1	4,700
Coahoma	+54.2	40.2	15,400
Copiah	+18.0	30.8	7,900
Covington	+4.5	27.3	3,900
DeSoto	-3.9	22.2	10,800
Forrest	-21.5	20.5	12,400
Franklin	+25.7	32.8	2,700
George	-30.8	18.1	2,500
Greene	+20.1	31.3	2,800
Grenada	+5.9	27.6	5,600
Hancock	-32.2	17.7	3.200
Harrison	-42.7	15.0	22,000
Hinds	-27.7	18.9	43,700
Holmes	+75.1	45.7	10,500
Humphreys	+82.2	47.6	6,700
Issaquena	+41.0	36.8	800
Itawamba	-28.2	18.7	3,400
Jackson	-61.8	10.0	10,600
Jasper	+35.9	33.4	5,500
Jefferson	+89.8	49.5	4,300
Jefferson Davis	+23.5	32.2	4,200
Jones	-23.2	20.1	11,800
Kemper	+58.5	41.4	4,200
Lafayette	-3.4	25.2	6,900
Lamar	-.8	25.9	4,700
Lauderdale	-18.1	21.4	15,400
Lawrence	+15.2	29.9	3,600
Leake	+25.4	32.3	5,700
Lee	-35.3	16.9	8,700

Leflore	+33.6	34.9	14,300
Lincoln	-.1	26.0	6,900
Lowndes	-18.6	19.5	10,600
Madison	+37.9	36.0	11,800
Marion	+6.2	27.7	6,700
Marshall	+48.6	38.8	10,700
Monroe	-16.7	21.7	7,500
Montgomery	+27.4	28.8	3,900
Neshoba	+3.4	27.0	6,100
Newton	-2.5	19.6	3,900
Noxubee	+66.7	43.5	5,600
Oktibbeha	+5.4	27.5	8,600
Panola	+26.5	33.0	9,100
Pearl River	-3.5	25.2	7,000
Perry	+1.4	29.6	2,900
Pike	+3.7	27.0	9,200
Pontotoc	-3.1	25.3	4,900
Prentiss	-19.2	21.1	4,400
Quitman	+64.7	43.0	6,100
Rankin	-46.6	12.3	7,000
Scott	+5.9	27.6	6,100
Sharkey	+61.0	42.0	3,400
Simpson	+1.1	26.4	5,600
Smith	-3.4	25.2	3,700
Stone	-19.8	20.9	1,800
Sunflower	+63.3	42.6	15,200
Tallahatchie	+73.2	45.2	8,100
Tate	+21.8	31.8	6,500
Tippah	-	26.1	4,600
Tishomingo	-26.8	19.1	3,000
Tunica	+87.3	48.9	5,300
Union	-6.2	27.7	5,700
Walthall	+22.6	32.0	4,000
Warren	-20.9	20.6	9,800
Washington	+16.9	30.5	21,500
Wayne	+19.4	30.3	5,300
Webster	+8.8	28.4	2,900
Wilkinson	+35.1	35.3	3,400
Winston	+11.0	30.0	5,900
Yalobousha	+27.4	33.3	4,200
Yazoo	+15.9	30.3	8,000

Methodology: Application of 1969 percentge deviation from statewide percentage to 1975 statewide percentage for each county, and application of that figure to 1975 population estimates.

TABLE 11

ESTIMATED PERSONS AGE 6-18 BELOW POVERTY, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

County	Number	Percent of Total	County	Number	Percent of Total
Adams	5,362	47.8	Leflore	7,925	63.7
Alcorn	2,268	33.8	Lincoln	3,384	47.0
Amite	2,534	65.9	Lowndes	5,827	38.8
Attala	2,911	59.7	Madison	6,826	65.8
Benton	1,417	61.6	Marion	3,876	56.1
Bolivar	10,450	70.2	Marshall	6,290	70.9
Calhoun	1,967	50.8	Monroe	3,602	39.8
Carroll	1,762	66.3	Montgomery	2,223	60.8
Chickasaw	2,327	49.5	Neshoba	2,812	49.3
Choctaw	1,259	54.6	Newton	2,343	46.5
Claiborne	2,394	70.2	Noxubee	3,385	79.5
Clarke	1,996	49.9	Oktibbeha	4,656	50.3
Clay	2,575	43.9	Panola	5,048	60.4
Coahoma	9,107	73.6	Pearl River	3,219	39.8
Copiah	4,134	56.2	Perry	1,385	48.4
Covington	2,040	49.9	Pike	4,913	52.0
DeSoto	6,313	40.4	Pontotoc	2,161	46.2
Forrest	5,978	37.5	Prentiss	2,020	38.5
Franklin	1,366	60.0	Quitman	3,523	78.6
George	1,356	33.0	Rankin	3,947	25.5
Greene	1,398	57.3	Scott	3,214	50.5
Grenada	2,471	44.9	Sharkey	1,964	76.8
Hancock	1,685	32.3	Simpson	2,749	48.2
Harrison	11,070	27.4	Smith	1,813	46.1
Hinds	22,361	34.5	Stone	891	38.3
Holmes	5,752	83.5	Sunflower	8,590	77.9
Humphreys	3,987	86.9	Tallahatchie	4,679	82.6
Issaquena	475	67.2	Tate	3,539	55.4
Itawamba	1,471	34.2	Tippah	2,183	48.0
Jackson	5,762	18.2	Tishomingo	1,330	34.9
Jasper	3,014	63.9	Tunica	3,164	89.3
Jefferson	2,606	90.6	Union	2,190	44.7
Jefferson-Davis	2,231	58.9	Walthall	2,127	58.5
Jones	5,788	36.7	Warren	5,227	37.7
Kemper	2,195	75.6	Washington	12,288	55.8
Lafayette	3,154	46.1	Wayne	2,957	56.9
Lamar	2,283	43.8	Webster	1,368	51.9
Lauderdale	6,880	39.1	Wilkinson	2,305	71.7
Lawrence	1,891	55.0	Winston	2,739	53.0
Leake	2,900	59.8	Yalobusha	2,019	60.8
Lee	4,090	30.9	Yazoo	6,117	69.1

Source: Mississippi Employment Security Commission. Methodiology of estimation involved application of 1970 poverty ratios to 1976 county population estimates. It should be recognized that these figures are based on estimates rather than enumeration.

TABLE 12

TOTAL AND POVERTY POPULATION AGE 65 AND OVER, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970 POPULATION, 1969 INCOME

	Total		White		Black	
	Non-Poor	Poor	Non-Poor	Poor	Non-Poor	Poor
Adams	1,483	1,850	986	415	447	1,435
Alcorn	1,413	1,737	1,321	1,458	92	279
Amite	681	1,089	513	520	168	569
Attala	1,060	1,674	839	1,017	221	657
Benton	379	467	305	306	74	161
Bolivar	1.817	3,092	1,074	588	743	2,488
Calhoun	809	1,081	736	911	73	170
Carroll	417	705	331	314	86	391
Chickasaw	755	1,276	598	805	157	471
Choctaw	456	735	410	573	46	162
Claiborne	386	749	259	134	127	615
Clarke	708	1,296	553	733	152	547
Clay	1,000	954	697	320	303	634
Coahoma	1,760	2,618	991	454	754	2,157
Copiah	1,214	1,918	954	917	260	1,001
Covington	682	899	588	537	94	362
DeSoto	1,197	1,259	921	459	276	800
Forrest	2,987	2,239	2,445	1,251	531	888
Franklin	427	711	339	395	83	316
George	564	515	501	439	63	76
Greene	296	647	254	472	32	175
Grenada	873	1,160	609	514	264	646
Hancock	925	804	833	616	92	188
Harrison	5,251	3,315	4,746	2,403	496	899
Hinds	9,824	6,470	7,551	2,640	2,273	3,830
Holmes	1,023	2,061	570	565	453	1,496
Humphreys	562	994	387	208	175	777
Issaquena	96	172	55	14	41	158
Itawamba	835	1,114	801	1,042	34	72
Jackson	2,779	1,427	2,380	1,179	399	248
Jasper	634	1,229	560	593	74	629
Jefferson	297	878	185	179	112	699
Jefferson Davis	442	892	392	421	113	471
Jones	2,770	2,941	2,429	1,983	341	958
Kemper	499	930	403	404	96	521
Lafayette	998	1,005	802	615	196	384
Lamar	1,390	649	930	338	460	311
Lauderdale	3,821	3,328	3,112	1,899	709	1,424
Lawrence	415	864	355	477	60	387
Leake	993	1.302	732	879	261	400
Lee	2,276	2,055	1,926	1,548	350	507

Leflore	1,885	2,310	1,187	609	698	1,701
Lincoln	1,303	1,617	1,085	991	218	626
Lowndes	2,126	1,893	1,631	838	495	1,055
Madison	1,276	1,666	858	407	418	1,259
Marion	950	1,399	825	810	125	589
Marshall	822	1,453	543	422	279	1,031
Monroe	1,826	1,970	1,495	1,164	331	806
Montgomery	1,452	1,069	309	188	1,143	881
Neshoba	1,081	1,474	944	1,167	114	282
Newton	1,163	1,336	1,027	929	133	397
Noxubee	708	921	472	185	236	736
Oktibbeha	1,026	1,106	834	496	192	599
Panola	1,300	1,828	976	676	328	1,145
Pearl River	1,028	1,269	920	985	108	284
Perry	316	631	274	389	42	242
Pike	1,976	1,933	1,552	1,052	424	881
Pontotoc	794	1,604	719	1,321	75	283
Prentiss	985	1,302	923	1,169	62	133
Quitman	572	1,125	407	279	165	846
Rankin	1,559	1,189	1,284	615	175	574
Scott	1,055	1,284	822	736	233	548
Sharkey	416	470	284	81	132	389
Simpson	991	1,270	822	784	169	486
Smith	1,153	506	571	169	551	337
Stone	429	457	206	158	223	299
Sunflower	1,352	2,239	900	594	452	1,638
Talahatchie	761	1,530	583	484	218	1,041
Tate	711	1,081	575	468	136	613
Tippah	822	1,210	752	982	70	228
Tishomingo	818	1,174	793	1,085	25	89
Tunica	422	947	222	121	200	826
Union	1,074	1,334	969	1,139	105	195
Walthall	517	843	400	520	117	323
Warren	2,380	2,216	1,558	685	822	1,531
Washington	2,547	3,749	1,634	762	893	2,982
Wayne	562	1,071	449	684	113	387
Webster	563	828	557	680	6	148
Wilkinson	1,637	1,124	168	59	1,469	1,065
Winston	1,035	1,249	828	660	202	589
Yalobousha	739	997	578	636	161	361
Yazoo	1.144	1,986	875	532	269	1,454

Source: Bureau of the Census Fourth Count Summary Tape.

TABLE 13

PERCENT OF PERSONS AGE 65 OR ABOVE BELOW POVERTY, 1970 POPULATION, 1969 INCOME

COUNTY		COUNTY		COUNTY		COUNTY	
Adams	55	Grenada	52	Leflore	52	Sharkey	54
Alcorn	54	Hancock	46	Lincoln	54	Simpson	55
Amite	37	Harrison	36	Lowndes	47	Smith	33
Attala	39	Hinds	38	Madison	56	Stone	57
Benton	54	Holmes	67	Marion	56	Sunflower	61
Bolivar	62	Humphreys	65	Marshall	65	Tallahatchie	66
Calhoun	57	Issaquena	57	Monroe	52	Tate	59
Carroll	63	Itawamba	42	Montgomery	63	Tippah	60
Chickasaw	62	Jackson	33	Neshoba	57	Tishomingo	60
Choctaw	61	Jasper	65	Newton	51	Tunica	68
Claiborne	69	Jefferson	73	Noxubee	57	Union	53
Clarke	36	Jefferson Davis	66	Oktibbeha	52	Walthall	36
Clay	48	Jones	49	Panola	59	Warren	50
Coahoma	59	Kemper	66	Pearl River	54	Washington	59
Copiah	60	Lafayette	47	Perry	68	Wayne	63
Covington	58	Lamar	43	Pike	49	Webster	38
DeSoto	51	Lauderdale	44	Pontotoc	67	Wilkinson	41
Forrest	41	Lawrence	70	Prentiss	54	Winston	57
Franklin	62	Leake	57	Quitman	65	Yalobousha	60
George	48	Lee	46	Rankin	32	Yazoo	63
Greene	69			Scott	55		

Source: Calculated from Table 12 and Population Characteristics, Mississippi PC CD-B26, Table 35.

TABLE 14

ESTIMATED POPULATION 60 AND ABOVE AND 65 AND ABOVE, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI 1976

County	60 AND ABOVE	65 AND ABOVE	County	60 AND ABOVE	65 AND ABOVE
Adams	5,800	4,200	Leflore	6,800	5,000
Alcorn	5,100	3,700	Lincoln	5,100	3,700
Amite	2,500	1,800	Lowndes	6,400	4,700
Attala	4,100	3,100	Madison	4,400	3,400
Benton	1,300	1,000	Marion	4,100	3,000
Bolivar	7,100	5,400	Marshall	3,400	2,600
Calhoun	2,900	2,100	Monroe	5,800	4,300
Carroll	1,700	1,300	Montgomery	2,700	2,000
Chickasaw	2,900	2,200	Neshoba	3,900	2,900
Choctaw	1,800	1,400	Newton	3,800	2,900
Claiborne	1,700	1,300	Noxubee	2,100	1,600
Clarke	2,900	2,200	Oktibbeha	3,600	2,600
Clay	2,900	2,100	Panola	4,900	3,600
Coahoma	6,500	4,900	Pearl River	4,000	2,900
Copiah	4,700	3,600	Perry	1,400	1,000
Covington	2,500	1,800	Pike	6,300	4,600
DeSoto	4,400	3,200	Pontotoc	3,600	2,700
Forrest	8,700	6,400	Prentiss	4,100	3,000
Franklin	1,600	1,200	Quitman	2,500	1,900
George	2,000	1,400	Rankin	6,900	4,800
Greene	1,300	1,000	Scott	3,800	2,800
Grenada	3,400	2,500	Sharkey	1,300	1,000
Hancock	3,100	2,200	Simpson	3,800	2,800
Harrison	15,600	11,200	Smith	2,600	1,900
Hinds	29,800	21,100	Stone	1,200	900
Holmes	4,200	3,200	Sunflower	5,700	4,200
Humphreys	2,300	1,700	Tallahatchie	3,400	2,500
Issaquena	400	300	Tate	2,700	2,000
Itawamba	3,400	2,500	Tippah	3,200	2,400
Jackson	8,700	5,900	Tishomingo	3,100	2,300
Jasper	2,700	2,000	Tunica	1,600	1,200
Jefferson	1,600	1,300	Union	3,900	3,000
Jefferson Davis	2,400	1,700	Walthall	2,400	1,700
Jones	9,900	7,100	Warren	7,100	5,200
Kemper	2,200	1,600	Washington	10,400	7,500
Lafayette	3,300	2,500	Wayne	2,600	1.900
Lamar	2,300	1,700	Webster	2,100	1,600
Lauderdale	11,300	8,400	Wilkinson	2,100	1,600
Lawrence	1.900	1,300	Winston	3,600	2,600
Leake	3,600	2,700	Yalobusha	2,600	2,000
Lee	7,000	5,100	Yazoo	4,900	3,600

Source: The Elderly Population: Estimates by County 1976 (DHEW Pub. No. ODHS 78-20248).

TABLE 15
LIVE BIRTHS, BY PLACE OF OCCURRENCE AND RACE, ALSO LIVE BIRTHS, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND RACE, (PLACE INCLUDES COUNTIES, OUT OF STATE, TOWNS OF 10,000 OR MORE, URBAN, RURAL), MISSISSIPPI, 1976

County	Occurrence Data			Residence Data		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
STATE	42,691	22,562	20,129	42,983	22,605	20,378
Adams	1,418	691	727	645	250	395
Alcorn	226	191	35	430	366	64
Amite	14	2	12	226	89	137
Attala	257	148	109	307	137	170
Benton	1	0	1	114	53	61
Bolivar	1,890	359	1,531	1,052	277	775
Calhoun	64	36	28	237	156	81
Carroll	5	1	4	120	43	77
Chickasaw	306	141	165	322	164	158
Choctaw	93	25	68	141	85	56
Claiborne	53	11	42	227	42	185
Clarke	32	16	16	278	151	127
Clay	348	149	199	376	151	225
Coahoma	779	322	457	756	181	575
Copiah	371	166	205	479	197	282
Covington	120	81	39	305	146	159
DeSoto	2	1	1	827	607	220
Forrest	2,036	1,491	545	1,020	654	366
Franklin	2	0	2	126	63	63
George	232	191	41	298	263	35
Greene	69	45	24	191	131	60
Grenada	275	107	168	315	144	171
Hancock	56	44	12	285	242	43
Harrison	3,410	2,625	785	2,930	2,201	729
Hinds	5,477	1,963	3,514	4,133	1,797	2,336
Holmes	456	62	394	495	95	400
Humphreys	243	24	219	303	70	233
Issaquena	1	0	1	56	15	41
Itawamba	1	1	0	218	196	22
Jackson	2,036	1,508	528	2,318	1,758	560
Jasper	1	1	0	324	113	211
Jefferson	41	3	38	181	24	157
Jeff Davis	10	0	10	234	62	172
Jones	1,679	663	1,016	927	600	327
Kemper	47	17	30	172	53	119
Lafayette	468	293	175	352	200	152
Lamar	82	69	13	328	277	51
Lauderdale	2,293	1,269	1,024	1,320	765	555
Lawrence	10	4	6	215	122	93
Leake	93	52	41	280	121	159
Lee	1,497	1,113	384	980	671	309
Leflore	1,041	373	668	882	256	626

County	Occurrence Data			Residence Data		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Lincoln	197	124	73	462	269	193
Lowndes	975	665	310	981	563	418
Madison	163	48	115	731	207	524
Marion	28	22	6	385	230	155
Marshall	61	9	52	505	211	294
Monroe	933	646	287	563	330	233
Montgomery	266	87	179	237	98	139
Neshoba	260	107	153	384	203	181
Newton	148	96	52	309	174	135
Noxubee	301	49	252	244	69	175
Oktibbeha	590	286	304	514	236	278
Panola	714	242	472	623	238	385
Pearl River	407	326	81	506	396	110
Perry	134	106	28	187	134	53
Pike	1,074	655	419	635	305	330
Pontotoc	144	102	42	255	207	48
Prentiss	362	309	53	312	265	47
Quitman	225	25	200	318	103	215
Rankin	1,692	1,380	312	981	728	253
Scott	172	128	44	446	240	206
Sharkey	78	7	71	194	40	154
Simpson	135	94	41	384	221	163
Smith	24	21	3	213	131	82
Stone	1	0	1	143	101	42
Sunflower	306	70	236	705	161	544
Tallahatchie	288	68	220	359	104	255
Tate	3	1	2	312	139	173
Tippah	315	195	120	263	203	60
Tishomingo	116	110	6	210	201	9
Tunica	168	6	162	235	40	195
Union	401	302	99	332	262	70
Walthall	251	120	131	230	98	132
Warren	1,594	609	985	901	470	431
Washington	1,411	671	740	1,563	502	1,061
Wayne	317	173	144	320	174	146
Webster	206	125	81	148	102	46
Wilkinson	190	88	102	149	41	108
Winston	226	117	109	310	142	168
Yalobusha	85	34	51	201	95	106
Yazoo	195	81	114	508	184	324
Out of state	2,090	1,465	625	1,798	1,422	376

Town*	Occurrence Data Total	Occurrence Data White	Occurrence Data Non-white	Residence Data Total	Residence Data White	Residence Data Non-white
Biloxi	1,822	1,526	296	950	752	198
Brookhaven	196	123	73	209	94	115
Canton	143	48	95	270	51	219
Clarksdale	775	322	453	438	117	321
Cleveland	579	272	307	315	124	191
Columbus	703	463	240	444	198	246
Corinth	1	1	0	145	98	47
Greenville	1,070	608	462	912	279	633
Greenwood	1,002	373	629	451	162	289
Gulfport	1,579	1,095	484	924	545	379
Hattiesburg	2,035	1,490	545	643	342	301
Jackson	4,726	1,412	3,314	3,067	1,244	1,823
Laurel	1,675	659	1,016	408	192	216
McComb	1,000	635	365	217	103	114
Meridian	2,275	1,254	1,021	803	407	396
Moss Point	17	0	17	438	117	321
Natchez	1,418	691	727	383	125	258
Oxford	461	291	170	119	77	42
Pascagoula	1,780	1,281	499	755	601	154
Pearl	1	1	0	264	258	6
Picayune	403	323	80	177	111	66
Starkville	587	286	301	218	124	94
Tupelo	1,451	1,082	369	390	280	110
Vicksburg	1,594	609	985	528	212	316
Yazoo City	181	81	100	243	72	171
Total urban**	35,580	18,872	16,708	18,282	9,067	9,215
Total rural	7,111	3,690	3,421	24,701	13,538	11,163

* Towns of 10,000 population or more, according to 1970 census except for Pearl which was not incorporated until 1973.

** All incorporated towns of 2,500 population or more, according to 1970 census except for Pearl which was not incorporated until 1973.

Source: Tables 15-23, Mississippi Department of Public Health.

TABLE 16

TOTAL LIVE BIRTHS, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND AGE OF MOTHER, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

		Age of Mother								
County	Total	Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
STATE	42,983	398	11,169	15,187	10,343	3,919	1,504	433	23	7
Adams	645	4	180	235	145	53	20	8	0	0
Alcorn	430	1	93	158	126	38	12	2	0	0
Amite	226	2	51	75	62	22	8	6	0	0
Attala	307	2	61	108	73	40	10	13	0	0
Benton	114	2	32	49	19	7	3	2	0	0
Bolivar	1,052	23	348	341	222	79	29	10	0	0
Calhoun	237	0	65	100	45	18	6	2	0	1
Carroll	120	1	36	43	22	8	8	2	0	0
Chickasaw	322	4	86	120	75	31	5	0	1	0
Choctaw	141	0	36	50	32	16	6	1	0	0
Claiborne	227	1	56	94	42	16	16	2	0	0
Clarke	278	2	68	109	68	18	11	2	0	0
Clay	376	8	98	135	84	30	15	6	0	0
Coahoma	756	12	247	260	142	55	25	15	0	0
Copiah	479	7	139	171	104	32	21	5	0	0
Covington	305	1	90	110	66	25	12	1	0	0
DeSoto	827	3	157	286	245	88	41	4	3	0
Forrest	1,020	10	245	346	285	93	34	7	0	0
Franklin	126	1	23	49	43	7	2	1	0	0
George	298	0	80	116	64	24	12	2	0	0
Greene	191	2	54	68	38	21	5	3	0	0
Grenada	315	1	98	106	78	18	12	2	0	0
Hancock	285	1	66	99	78	33	7	1	0	0
Harrison	2,930	13	742	1,090	719	268	72	23	2	1
Hinds	4,133	40	929	1,379	1,190	428	139	27	1	0
Holmes	495	7	149	174	86	43	27	9	0	0
Humphreys	303	3	110	99	57	22	9	3	0	0
Issaquena	56	3	21	18	7	3	4	0	0	0
Itawamba	218	1	45	81	63	19	5	4	0	0
Jackson	2,318	15	490	920	598	214	67	13	1	0
Jasper	324	5	91	107	75	25	17	3	1	0
Jefferson	181	2	52	70	27	21	6	3	0	0
Jeff Davis	234	1	66	77	46	31	9	4	0	0
Jones	927	4	244	318	251	81	19	10	0	0
Kemper	172	0	52	60	29	19	8	4	0	0
Lafayette	352	1	87	129	88	32	13	2	0	0
Lamar	328	3	82	115	76	35	13	3	1	0
Lauderdale	1,320	16	313	501	332	110	36	9	3	0
Lawrence	215	2	57	78	49	16	10	3	0	0
Leake	280	1	60	114	63	21	16	4	1	0
Lee	980	4	224	379	245	92	25	11	0	0
Leflore	882	16	278	296	179	72	33	8	0	0

Total Live Births - Mississippi - 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
Lincoln	462	3	116	176	102	43	21	1	0	0
Lowndes	981	6	227	385	245	75	31	10	0	2
Madison	731	12	189	247	158	69	45	10	1	0
Marion	385	4	101	145	95	24	10	6	0	0
Marshall	505	5	154	193	97	36	13	7	0	0
Monroe	563	7	155	181	121	57	34	7	1	0
Montgomery	237	1	74	79	50	20	7	5	0	1
Neshoba	384	2	100	134	84	39	21	3	1	0
Newton	309	6	78	109	72	23	14	7	0	0
Noxubee	244	3	66	83	63	20	6	3	0	0
Oktibbeha	514	6	128	190	117	51	18	2	2	0
Panola	623	4	173	191	144	76	22	13	0	0
Pearl River	506	1	132	188	123	50	10	2	0	0
Perry	187	1	51	71	39	16	5	4	0	0
Pike	635	6	171	213	147	64	27	7	0	0
Pontotoc	255	1	48	103	67	24	9	3	0	0
Prentiss	312	1	69	99	85	37	19	2	0	0
Quitman	318	8	101	102	54	33	16	3	1	0
Rankin	981	5	197	321	320	112	26	0	0	0
Scott	446	4	139	141	92	43	22	5	0	0
Sharkey	194	4	74	59	29	19	6	3	0	0
Simpson	384	2	103	131	101	32	11	4	0	0
Smith	213	0	51	98	41	13	8	2	0	0
Stone	143	2	40	49	33	12	5	1	0	1
Sunflower	705	12	221	233	147	60	23	8	1	0
Tallahatchie	359	5	116	117	74	29	14	4	0	0
Tate	312	3	80	111	72	30	12	4	0	0
Tippah	263	0	59	104	63	25	9	3	0	0
Tishomingo	210	0	50	80	44	25	7	4	0	0
Tunica	235	2	84	78	46	10	10	5	0	0
Union	332	1	75	124	87	32	10	3	0	0
Walthall	230	2	66	86	37	24	12	3	0	0
Warren	901	11	209	305	234	98	37	7	0	0
Washington	1,563	23	499	494	333	137	55	22	0	0
Wayne	320	2	95	114	66	28	8	7	0	0
Webster	148	3	36	52	35	18	4	0	0	0
Wilkinson	149	2	48	53	32	7	6	1	0	0
Winston	310	3	82	97	86	26	13	2	0	1
Yalobusha	201	2	47	55	70	18	7	2	0	0
Yazoo	508	8	164	163	100	40	23	8	2	0

TABLE 17

WHITE LIVE BIRTHS, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND AGE OF MOTHER, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
STATE	22,605	55	4,345	8,462	6,648	2,301	651	139	4	0
Adams	250	0	47	105	66	26	4	2	0	0
Alcorn	366	0	70	135	117	32	11	1	0	0
Amite	89	0	11	30	35	10	1	2	0	0
Attala	137	0	17	54	39	18	7	2	0	0
Benton	53	0	16	19	13	2	2	1	0	0
Bolivar	277	2	47	114	81	27	5	1	0	0
Calhoun	156	0	32	72	33	13	5	1	0	0
Carroll	43	0	6	18	15	3	1	0	0	0
Chickasaw	164	0	33	57	49	20	4	0	1	0
Choctaw	85	0	20	35	18	9	3	0	0	0
Claiborne	42	0	6	17	12	5	2	0	0	0
Clarke	151	0	33	51	47	11	7	2	0	0
Clay	151	2	31	53	47	13	4	1	0	0
Coahoma	181	1	33	66	58	17	4	2	0	0
Copiah	197	1	41	74	58	14	8	1	0	0
Covington	146	0	33	59	35	11	7	1	0	0
DeSoto	607	0	87	213	206	73	26	2	0	0
Forrest	654	3	116	224	225	63	19	4	0	0
Franklin	63	0	6	29	22	4	1	1	0	0
George	263	0	70	100	62	22	8	1	0	0
Greene	131	0	30	51	26	19	3	2	0	0
Grenada	144	0	29	52	48	8	6	1	0	0
Hancock	242	1	54	85	68	29	5	0	0	0
Harrison	2,201	4	520	848	571	194	50	14	0	0
Hinds	1,797	3	217	586	690	240	55	6	0	0
Holmes	95	1	16	38	27	10	3	0	0	0
Humphreys	70	0	14	32	20	3	1	0	0	0
Issaquena	15	0	6	6	3	0	0	0	0	0
Itawamba	196	1	40	71	58	19	3	4	0	0
Jackson	1,758	9	322	704	497	171	46	8	1	0
Jasper	113	0	23	35	37	10	7	1	0	0
Jefferson	24	0	3	13	6	2	0	0	0	0
Jeff Davis	62	0	7	28	16	10	0	1	0	0
Jones	600	1	136	203	180	64	11	5	0	0
Kemper	53	0	9	22	10	7	2	3	0	0
Lafayette	200	0	29	70	67	25	8	1	0	0
Lamar	277	0	64	101	68	30	11	3	0	0
Lauderdale	765	3	132	301	231	76	18	3	1	0
Lawrence	122	1	30	47	29	9	5	1	0	0
Leake	121	0	26	52	30	11	2	0	0	0
Lee	671	1	122	263	196	67	18	4	0	0
Leflore	256	1	44	98	75	31	6	1	0	0

White Live Births - Mississippi - 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
Lincoln	269	0	47	119	67	25	11	0	0	0
Lowndes	563	0	84	242	176	45	11	5	0	0
Madison	207	0	31	66	78	21	10	1	0	0
Marion	230	0	51	98	61	16	4	0	0	0
Marshall	211	1	51	91	49	13	2	4	0	0
Monroe	330	3	76	114	79	36	19	3	0	0
Montgomery	98	0	21	33	28	10	3	3	0	0
Neshoba	203	0	47	77	51	19	8	1	0	0
Newton	174	1	37	66	50	13	5	2	0	0
Noxubee	69	0	7	33	19	9	1	0	0	0
Oktibbeha	236	0	26	106	65	30	7	1	1	0
Panola	238	1	49	80	73	31	3	1	0	0
Pearl River	396	0	92	151	101	43	7	2	0	0
Perry	134	0	38	49	32	8	4	3	0	0
Pike	305	0	66	107	86	30	14	2	0	0
Pontotoc	207	1	35	85	54	21	8	3	0	0
Prentiss	265	0	53	85	74	34	17	2	0	0
Quitman	103	2	21	39	23	15	2	1	0	0
Rankin	728	1	109	245	268	85	20	0	0	0
Scott	240	0	56	84	60	25	13	2	0	0
Sharkey	40	0	11	17	8	4	0	0	0	0
Simpson	221	1	50	81	66	18	4	1	0	0
Smith	131	0	23	64	30	8	5	1	0	0
Stone	101	0	25	38	25	10	2	1	0	0
Sunflower	161	0	36	59	44	19	2	1	0	0
Tallahatchie	104	1	19	40	33	8	3	0	0	0
Tate	139	0	24	54	41	16	3	1	0	0
Tippah	203	0	44	83	49	22	4	1	0	0
Tishomingo	201	0	48	76	42	24	7	4	0	0
Tunica	40	0	10	15	12	0	2	1	0	0
Union	262	1	58	94	74	25	8	2	0	0
Walthall	98	0	25	43	17	8	4	1	0	0
Warren	470	3	75	162	156	58	15	1	0	0
Washington	502	1	100	181	153	49	14	4	0	0
Wayne	174	1	44	72	38	14	4	1	0	0
Webster	102	0	20	37	29	12	4	0	0	0
Wilkinson	41	0	14	17	8	2	0	0	0	0
Winston	142	0	30	43	46	17	6	0	0	0
Yalobusha	95	2	23	20	38	10	2	0	0	0
Yazoo	184	0	41	65	54	20	4	0	0	0

TABLE 18

NONWHITE LIVE BIRTHS, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND AGE OF MOTHER, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
STATE	20,378	343	6,824	6,725	3,695	1,618	853	294	19	7
Adams	395	4	133	130	79	27	16	6	0	0
Alcorn	64	1	23	23	9	6	1	1	0	0
Amite	137	2	40	45	27	12	7	4	0	0
Attala	170	2	44	54	34	22	3	11	0	0
Benton	61	2	16	30	6	5	1	1	0	0
Bolivar	775	21	301	227	141	52	24	9	0	0
Calhoun	81	0	33	28	12	5	1	1	0	1
Carroll	77	1	30	25	7	5	7	2	0	0
Chickasaw	158	4	53	63	26	11	1	0	0	0
Choctaw	56	0	16	15	14	7	3	1	0	0
Claiborne	185	1	50	77	30	11	14	2	0	0
Clarke	127	2	35	58	21	7	4	0	0	0
Clay	225	6	67	82	37	17	11	5	0	0
Coahoma	575	11	214	194	84	38	21	13	0	0
Copiah	282	6	98	97	46	18	13	4	0	0
Covington	159	1	57	51	31	14	5	0	0	0
DeSoto	220	3	70	73	39	15	15	2	3	0
Forrest	366	7	129	122	60	30	15	3	0	0
Franklin	63	1	17	20	21	3	1	0	0	0
George	35	0	10	16	2	2	4	1	0	0
Greene	60	2	24	17	12	2	2	1	0	0
Grenada	171	1	69	54	30	10	6	1	0	0
Hancock	43	0	12	14	10	4	2	1	0	0
Harrison	729	9	222	242	148	74	22	9	2	1
Hinds	2,336	37	712	793	500	188	84	21	1	0
Holmes	400	6	133	136	59	33	24	9	0	0
Humphreys	233	3	96	67	37	19	8	3	0	0
Issaquena	41	3	15	12	4	3	4	0	0	0
Itawamba	22	0	5	10	5	0	2	0	0	0
Jackson	560	6	168	216	101	43	21	5	0	0
Jasper	211	5	68	72	38	15	10	2	1	0
Jefferson	157	2	49	57	21	19	6	3	0	0
Jeff Davis	172	1	59	49	30	21	9	3	0	0
Jones	327	3	108	115	71	17	8	5	0	0
Kemper	119	0	43	38	19	12	6	1	0	0
Lafayette	152	1	58	59	21	7	5	1	0	0
Lamar	51	3	18	14	8	5	2	0	1	0
Lauderdale	555	13	181	200	101	34	18	6	2	0
Lawrence	93	1	27	31	20	7	5	2	0	0
Leake	159	1	34	62	33	10	14	4	1	0
Lee	309	3	102	116	49	25	7	7	0	0
Leflore	626	15	234	198	104	41	27	7	0	0

Nonwhite Live Births - Mississippi - 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
Lincoln	193	3	69	57	35	18	10	1	0	0
Lowndes	418	6	143	143	69	30	20	5	0	2
Madison	524	12	158	181	80	48	35	9	1	0
Marion	155	4	50	47	34	8	6	6	0	0
Marshall	294	4	103	102	48	23	11	3	0	0
Monroe	233	4	79	67	42	21	15	4	1	0
Montgomery	139	1	53	46	22	10	4	2	0	1
Neshoba	181	2	53	57	33	20	13	2	1	0
Newton	135	5	41	43	22	10	9	5	0	0
Noxubee	175	3	59	50	44	11	5	3	0	0
Oktibbeha	278	6	102	84	52	21	11	1	1	0
Panola	385	3	124	111	71	45	19	12	0	0
Pearl River	110	1	40	37	22	7	3	0	0	0
Perry	53	1	13	22	7	8	1	1	0	0
Pike	330	6	105	106	61	34	13	5	0	0
Pontotoc	48	0	13	18	13	3	1	0	0	0
Prentiss	47	1	16	14	11	3	2	0	0	0
Quitman	215	6	80	63	31	18	14	2	1	0
Rankin	253	4	88	76	52	27	6	0	0	0
Scott	206	4	83	57	32	18	9	3	0	0
Sharkey	154	4	63	42	21	15	6	3	0	0
Simpson	163	1	53	50	35	14	7	3	0	0
Smith	82	0	28	34	11	5	3	1	0	0
Stone	42	2	15	11	8	2	3	0	0	1
Sunflower	544	12	185	174	103	41	21	7	1	0
Tallahatchie	255	4	97	77	41	21	11	4	0	0
Tate	173	3	56	57	31	14	9	3	0	0
Tippah	60	0	15	21	14	3	5	2	0	0
Tishomingo	9	0	2	4	2	1	0	0	0	0
Tunica	195	2	74	63	34	10	8	4	0	0
Union	70	0	17	30	13	7	2	1	0	0
Walthall	132	2	41	43	20	16	8	2	0	0
Warren	431	8	134	143	78	40	22	6	0	0
Washington	1,061	22	399	313	180	88	41	18	0	0
Wayne	146	1	51	42	28	14	4	6	0	0
Webster	46	3	16	15	6	6	0	0	0	0
Wilkinson	108	2	34	36	24	5	6	1	0	0
Winston	168	3	52	54	40	9	7	2	0	1
Yalobusha	106	0	24	35	32	8	5	2	0	0
Yazoo	324	8	123	98	46	20	19	8	2	0

TABLE 19

TOTAL ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND AGE OF MOTHER, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
STATE	10,470	354	5,577	2,838	1,026	373	222	75	1	4
Adams	220	3	112	67	27	8	3	0	0	0
Alcorn	33	0	18	12	3	0	0	0	0	0
Amite	60	2	26	22	7	1	2	0	0	0
Attala	63	2	32	17	7	2	0	3	0	0
Benton	26	2	15	8	0	1	0	0	0	0
Bolivar	488	21	269	124	47	18	6	3	0	0
Calhoun	41	0	23	10	5	1	1	1	0	0
Carroll	29	1	19	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chickasaw	70	3	40	20	7	0	0	0	0	0
Choctaw	30	0	14	9	4	2	0	1	0	0
Claiborne	83	1	38	28	8	4	3	1	0	0
Clarke	49	2	25	16	2	2	2	0	0	0
Clay	113	5	44	36	15	5	6	2	0	0
Coahoma	317	11	168	96	23	10	4	5	0	0
Copiah	134	5	77	30	16	3	2	1	0	0
Covington	71	1	43	19	6	0	2	0	0	0
DeSoto	128	3	68	39	12	5	1	0	0	0
Forrest	211	9	119	55	16	8	3	1	0	0
Franklin	33	1	14	11	6	1	0	0	0	0
George	28	0	18	9	0	0	1	0	0	0
Greene	36	2	23	5	6	0	0	0	0	0
Grenada	92	1	57	22	11	0	1	0	0	0
Hancock	35	1	18	10	5	0	1	0	0	0
Harrison	397	12	220	105	33	18	4	4	0	1
Hinds	1,117	38	590	307	111	41	26	4	0	0
Holmes	218	5	97	79	22	6	7	2	0	0
Humphreys	124	3	74	29	8	5	4	1	0	0
Issaquena	24	3	15	5	0	0	1	0	0	0
Itawamba	11	0	6	4	0	0	1	0	0	0
Jackson	297	11	154	90	29	8	5	0	0	0
Jasper	88	5	47	22	9	4	0	1	0	0
Jefferson	83	2	40	27	4	6	3	1	0	0
Jeff Davis	71	1	40	17	8	2	2	1	0	0
Jones	162	4	81	50	17	8	2	0	0	0
Kemper	41	0	22	10	6	3	0	0	0	0
Lafayette	75	1	51	20	3	0	0	0	0	0
Lamar	36	3	23	6	4	0	0	0	0	0
Lauderdale	257	15	130	77	25	6	3	1	0	0
Lawrence	42	1	21	12	5	1	2	0	0	0
Leake	46	1	22	15	5	0	3	0	0	0
Lee	147	3	77	36	15	9	4	3	0	0
Leflore	350	14	186	103	33	4	9	1	0	0

Total Illegitimate Live Births - Mississippi - 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother: Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Unknown
Lincoln	98	2	55	23	11	5	2	0	0	0
Lowndes	223	6	121	65	14	9	5	1	0	2
Madison	263	12	124	77	26	12	10	2	0	0
Marion	67	4	41	13	7	2	0	0	0	0
Marshall	160	5	86	40	14	10	3	2	0	0
Monroe	117	4	63	27	11	4	6	2	0	0
Montgomery	64	1	37	14	8	1	2	0	0	1
Neshoba	64	2	32	14	6	5	5	0	0	0
Newton	51	4	30	9	5	2	0	1	0	0
Noxubee	89	3	48	20	14	2	2	0	0	0
Oktibbeha	151	6	81	46	12	3	1	1	1	0
Panola	181	3	86	50	19	15	5	3	0	0
Pearl River	67	1	38	18	8	2	0	0	0	0
Perry	32	1	12	10	5	3	0	1	0	0
Pike	161	6	90	38	17	4	4	2	0	0
Pontotoc	26	1	15	7	3	0	0	0	0	0
Prentiss	30	1	11	13	5	0	0	0	0	0
Quitman	112	6	59	27	8	8	3	1	0	0
Rankin	134	4	82	33	10	4	1	0	0	0
Scott	83	4	55	13	4	3	4	0	0	0
Sharkey	95	4	55	21	7	7	0	1	0	0
Simpson	73	2	41	14	14	1	0	1	0	0
Smith	34	0	20	11	3	0	0	0	0	0
Stone	20	2	10	5	2	1	0	0	0	0
Sunflower	295	11	154	73	38	11	6	2	0	0
Tallahatchie	137	5	78	31	12	5	5	1	0	0
Tate	81	3	46	18	6	4	4	0	0	0
Tippah	26	0	16	5	5	0	0	0	0	0
Tishomingo	6	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Tunica	117	2	61	34	11	5	2	2	0	0
Union	30	1	13	9	6	1	0	0	0	0
Walthall	63	2	37	17	3	2	2	0	0	0
Warren	239	10	111	73	25	9	10	1	0	0
Washington	645	22	353	158	69	21	13	9	0	0
Wayne	71	1	42	18	6	3	1	0	0	0
Webster	23	3	10	4	4	2	0	0	0	0
Wilkinson	60	2	25	24	4	3	2	0	0	0
Winston	74	2	39	20	9	2	1	1	0	0
Yalobusha	49	1	23	12	6	3	3	1	0	0
Yazoo	183	7	96	46	19	7	6	2	0	0

TABLE 20

WHITE ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND AGE OF MOTHER, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
STATE	981	29	586	244	79	25	12	6	0	0
Adams	16	0	10	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Alcorn	10	0	6	3	1	0	0	0	0	0
Amite	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Attala	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Benton	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bolivar	18	1	10	3	2	2	0	0	0	0
Calhoun	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Carroll	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chickasaw	12	0	8	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Choctaw	4	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Claiborne	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Clarke	4	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clay	7	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coahoma	6	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Copiah	11	0	9	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Covington	11	0	6	2	2	0	1	0	0	0
DeSoto	19	0	15	2	0	2	0	0	0	0
Forrest	37	2	27	7	1	0	0	0	0	0
Franklin	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
George	16	0	12	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Greene	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Grenada	5	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Hancock	16	1	8	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
Harrison	111	3	65	27	10	4	1	1	0	0
Hinds	68	3	37	17	6	2	2	1	0	0
Holmes	4	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Humphreys	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Issaquena	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Itawamba	6	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jackson	86	5	47	21	8	4	1	0	0	0
Jasper	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jefferson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jeff Davis	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jones	22	1	12	6	1	1	1	0	0	0
Kemper	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lafayette	6	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Lamar	11	0	8	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
Lauderdale	34	2	17	11	0	1	2	1	0	0
Lawrence	4	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leake	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Lee	28	1	11	8	5	1	2	0	0	0
Leflore	12	0	3	7	2	0	0	0	0	0

White Illegitimate Live Births - Mississippi - 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
Lincoln	10	0	3	3	4	0	0	0	0	0
Lowndes	21	0	13	5	2	1	0	0	0	0
Madison	6	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marion	13	0	9	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Marshall	13	1	7	2	2	0	0	1	0	0
Monroe	13	1	11	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Montgomery	3	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Neshoba	13	0	6	5	1	1	0	0	0	0
Newton	7	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Noxubee	5	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oktibbeha	6	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Panola	8	1	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0
Pearl River	12	0	9	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Perry	9	0	4	3	1	0	0	1	0	0
Pike	18	0	14	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pontotoc	12	1	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Prentiss	7	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quitman	4	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rankin	33	0	20	8	2	2	1	0	0	0
Scott	7	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sharkey	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Simpson	10	1	5	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
Smith	4	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Stone	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sunflower	9	0	6	2	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tallahatchie	5	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tate	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tippah	10	0	6	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
Tishomingo	5	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Tunica	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Union	12	1	6	2	3	0	0	0	0	0
Walthall	11	0	8	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Warren	21	2	10	7	1	0	1	0	0	0
Washington	22	0	15	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
Wayne	14	0	9	4	0	1	0	0	0	0
Webster	4	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Wilkinson	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Winston	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yalobusha	5	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yazoo	8	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE 21

NONWHITE ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND AGE OF MOTHER, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
STATE	9,489	325	4,991	2,594	947	348	210	69	1	4
Adams	204	3	102	61	27	8	3	0	0	0
Alcorn	23	0	12	9	2	0	0	0	0	0
Amite	60	2	26	22	7	1	2	0	0	0
Attala	62	2	31	17	7	2	0	3	0	0
Benton	22	2	11	8	0	1	0	0	0	0
Bolivar	470	20	259	121	45	16	6	3	0	0
Calhoun	38	0	23	9	3	1	1	1	0	0
Carroll	27	1	18	8	0	0	0	0	0	0
Chickasaw	58	3	32	16	7	0	0	0	0	0
Choctaw	26	0	11	8	4	2	0	1	0	0
Claiborne	82	1	38	28	8	3	3	1	0	0
Clarke	45	2	23	14	2	2	2	0	0	0
Clay	106	5	40	33	15	5	6	2	0	0
Coahoma	311	11	164	94	23	10	4	5	0	0
Copiah	123	5	68	28	16	3	2	1	0	0
Covington	60	1	37	17	4	0	1	0	0	0
DeSoto	109	3	53	37	12	3	1	0	0	0
Forrest	174	7	92	48	15	8	3	1	0	0
Franklin	33	1	14	11	6	1	0	0	0	0
George	12	0	6	5	0	0	1	0	0	0
Greene	33	2	20	5	6	0	0	0	0	0
Grenada	87	1	53	21	11	0	1	0	0	0
Hancock	19	0	10	6	2	0	1	0	0	0
Harrison	286	9	155	78	23	14	3	3	0	1
Hinds	1,049	35	553	290	105	39	24	3	0	0
Holmes	214	5	96	76	22	6	7	2	0	0
Humphreys	123	3	73	29	8	5	4	1	0	0
Issaquena	23	3	14	5	0	0	1	0	0	0
Itawamba	5	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0
Jackson	211	6	107	69	21	4	4	0	0	0
Jasper	85	5	45	21	9	4	0	1	0	0
Jefferson	83	2	40	27	4	6	3	1	0	0
Jeff Davis	68	1	38	16	8	2	2	1	0	0
Jones	140	3	69	44	16	7	1	0	0	0
Kemper	40	0	21	10	6	3	0	0	0	0
Lafayette	69	1	47	18	3	0	0	0	0	0
Lamar	25	3	15	5	2	0	0	0	0	0
Lauderdale	223	13	113	66	25	5	1	0	0	0
Lawrence	38	1	19	10	5	1	2	0	0	0
Leake	44	1	22	14	4	0	3	0	0	0
Lee	119	2	66	28	10	8	2	3	0	0
Leflore	338	14	183	96	31	4	9	1	0	0

Nonwhite Illegitimate Live Births - Mississippi - 1976

County	Total	Age of Mother								
		Under 15	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Un-known
Lincoln	88	2	52	20	7	5	2	0	0	0
Lowndes	202	6	108	60	12	8	5	1	0	2
Madison	257	12	119	76	26	12	10	2	0	0
Marion	54	4	32	11	5	2	0	0	0	0
Marshall	147	4	79	38	12	10	3	1	0	0
Monroe	104	3	52	27	10	4	6	2	0	0
Montgomery	61	1	36	13	8	0	2	0	0	1
Neshoba	51	2	26	9	5	4	5	0	0	0
Newton	44	4	25	8	4	2	0	1	0	0
Noxubee	84	3	44	19	14	2	2	0	0	0
Oktibbeha	145	6	78	43	12	3	1	1	1	0
Panola	173	2	83	47	19	14	5	3	0	0
Pearl River	55	1	29	16	7	2	0	0	0	0
Perry	23	1	8	7	4	3	0	0	0	0
Pike	143	6	76	34	17	4	4	2	0	0
Pontotoc	14	0	7	4	3	0	0	0	0	0
Prentiss	23	1	8	9	5	0	0	0	0	0
Quitman	108	6	57	25	8	8	3	1	0	0
Rankin	101	4	62	25	8	2	0	0	0	0
Scott	76	4	50	11	4	3	4	0	0	0
Sharkey	93	4	53	21	7	7	0	1	0	0
Simpson	63	1	36	12	12	1	0	1	0	0
Smith	30	0	17	10	3	0	0	0	0	0
Stone	19	2	9	5	2	1	0	0	0	0
Sunflower	286	11	148	71	37	11	6	2	0	0
Tallahatchie	132	4	76	30	11	5	5	1	0	0
Tate	78	3	45	16	6	4	4	0	0	0
Tippah	16	0	10	5	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tishomingo	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tunica	114	2	59	33	11	5	2	2	0	0
Union	18	0	7	7	3	1	0	0	0	0
Walthall	52	2	29	14	3	2	2	0	0	0
Warren	218	8	101	66	24	9	9	1	0	0
Washington	623	22	338	154	66	21	13	9	0	0
Wayne	57	1	33	14	6	2	1	0	0	0
Webster	19	3	7	4	3	2	0	0	0	0
Wilkinson	60	2	25	24	4	3	2	0	0	0
Winston	71	2	37	19	9	2	1	1	0	0
Yalobusha	44	0	19	12	6	3	3	1	0	0
Yazoo	175	7	90	44	19	7	6	2	0	0

TABLE 22

DEATHS, BY PLACE OF OCCURRENCE AND RACE, ALSO DEATHS, BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND RACE, (PLACE INCLUDES COUNTIES, OUT OF STATE, TOWNS OF 10,000 OR MORE, URBAN, RURAL), MISSISSIPPI, 1976

	Occurrence Data			Residence Data		
County	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
STATE	22,806	14,052	8,754	23,124	14,307	8,817
Adams	479	245	234	379	169	210
Alcorn	248	216	32	301	259	42
Amite	36	16	20	139	87	52
Attala	244	157	87	260	164	96
Benton	28	19	9	74	43	31
Bolivar	430	121	309	507	166	341
Calhoun	100	76	24	167	131	36
Carroll	31	17	14	103	59	44
Chickasaw	174	109	65	196	114	82
Choctaw	65	45	20	105	86	19
Claiborne	86	17	69	129	31	98
Clarke	108	69	39	191	114	77
Clay	164	90	74	210	114	96
Coahoma	500	171	329	460	134	326
Copiah	184	96	88	323	178	145
Covington	129	90	39	174	118	56
DeSoto	113	60	53	262	175	87
Forrest	877	643	234	647	460	187
Franklin	95	57	38	104	64	40
George	101	96	5	125	120	5
Greene	55	41	14	96	82	14
Grenada	281	176	105	214	120	94
Hancock	162	132	30	207	172	35
Harrison	1,387	1,123	264	1,152	926	226
Hinds	3,074	1,810	1,264	1,823	1,052	771
Holmes	246	67	179	314	92	222
Humphreys	146	28	118	151	49	102
Issaquena	12	4	8	27	10	17
Itawamba	137	124	13	171	157	14
Jackson	580	467	113	641	520	121
Jasper	112	74	38	167	101	66
Jefferson	76	13	63	108	30	78
Jeff Davis	101	56	45	141	82	59
Jones	684	492	192	626	483	143
Kemper	88	46	42	138	68	70
Lafayette	201	140	61	174	112	62
Lamar	71	56	15	149	125	24
Lauderdale	1,026	665	361	775	497	278
Lawrence	106	65	41	151	105	46
Leake	164	106	58	217	144	73
Lee	691	512	179	492	365	127
Leflore	512	222	290	455	194	261

County	Occurrence Data Total	 White	 Non-white	Residence Data Total	 White	 Non-white
Lincoln	299	219	80	316	229	87
Lowndes	422	285	137	420	255	165
Madison	270	112	158	336	136	200
Marion	198	128	70	267	174	93
Marshall	166	87	79	257	131	126
Monroe	374	252	122	369	258	111
Montgomery	180	106	74	173	117	56
Neshoba	151	100	51	237	175	62
Newton	180	112	68	238	155	83
Noxubee	123	36	87	131	49	82
Oktibbeha	240	142	98	242	135	107
Panola	268	123	145	316	170	146
Pearl River	248	208	40	278	225	53
Perry	74	62	12	116	86	30
Pike	440	270	170	416	257	159
Pontotoc	130	116	14	213	186	27
Prentiss	157	137	20	235	206	29
Quitman	57	18	39	155	72	83
Rankin	356	225	131	366	267	99
Scott	220	153	67	256	168	88
Sharkey	49	19	30	90	36	54
Simpson	203	165	38	233	182	51
Smith	49	32	17	139	107	32
Stone	96	80	16	88	71	17
Sunflower	311	121	190	366	151	215
Tallahatchie	173	64	109	238	101	137
Tate	87	44	43	193	121	72
Tippah	191	161	30	187	153	34
Tishomingo	111	109	2	158	152	6
Tunica	100	29	71	116	42	74
Union	228	180	48	227	188	39
Walthall	140	97	43	140	99	41
Warren	642	314	328	516	252	264
Washington	810	334	476	719	281	438
Wayne	167	109	58	185	125	60
Webster	112	83	29	132	100	32
Wilkinson	128	62	66	114	36	78
Winston	188	121	67	222	140	82
Yalobusha	104	69	35	155	100	55
Yazoo	260	139	121	324	147	177
Out of state	1,270	963	307	952	708	244

Town*	Occurrence Data			Residence Data		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Biloxi	721	604	117	347	287	60
Brookhaven	272	204	68	136	86	50
Canton	192	87	105	144	64	80
Clarksdale	441	163	278	307	98	209
Cleveland	226	90	136	151	64	87
Columbus	379	256	123	257	140	117
Corinth	26	17	9	141	110	31
Greenville	622	290	332	447	186	261
Greenwood	433	200	233	277	133	144
Gulfport	512	394	118	368	291	77
Hattiesburg	834	613	221	406	257	149
Jackson	2,629	1,528	1,101	1,434	845	589
Laurel	582	408	174	287	188	99
McComb	314	197	117	166	117	49
Meridian	928	593	335	547	336	211
Moss Point	14	5	9	129	63	66
Natchez	448	236	212	251	109	142
Oxford	171	130	41	48	32	16
Pascagoula	453	352	101	214	171	43
Pearl	8	7	1	65	64	1
Picayune	159	128	31	91	56	35
Starkville	183	116	67	109	75	34
Tupelo	580	417	163	199	137	62
Vicksburg	596	287	309	358	176	182
Yazoo City	201	112	89	170	70	100
Total urban**	16,592	10,402	6,190	9,992	5,980	4,012
Total rural	6,214	3,650	2,564	13,132	8,327	4,805

* Towns of 10,000 population or more, according to 1970 census except for Pearl which was not incorporated until 1973.

** All incorporated towns of 2,500 population or more, according to 1970 census except for Pearl which was not incorporated until 1973.

TABLE 23

INFANT AND NEONATAL DEATHS*, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND RACE. MISSISSIPPI, 1976, AND INFANT AND NEONATAL MORTALITY RATES, BY COUNTY OF RESIDENCE AND RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1972-1976 (5-YEAR AVERAGE)

	Infant Deaths						Neonatal Deaths					
	Number			Rate**			Number			Rate**		
County	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
STATE	927	331	596	23.8	16.5	31.9	626	243	383	16.5	12.5	20.8
Adams	15	1	14	22.5	13.9	28.5	8	1	7	17.1	11.1	21.2
Alcorn	4	4	0	19.4	18.6	24.0	3	3	0	12.7	12.8	12.0
Amite	3	0	3	27.2	13.8	36.5	2	0	2	17.8	9.2	23.8
Attala	6	3	3	19.6	13.0	25.7	3	3	0	12.0	9.1	14.7
Benton	1	0	1	25.4	26.0	24.6	1	0	1	18.1	16.3	20.5
Bolivar	31	6	25	27.9	20.0	30.4	21	3	18	19.3	14.3	20.8
Calhoun	6	2	4	24.2	16.1	36.6	4	2	2	17.0	14.7	20.3
Carroll	6	1	5	22.9	7.0	34.0	4	1	3	14.3	7.0	19.4
Chickasaw	9	2	7	29.9	18.6	42.0	8	1	7	23.9	13.9	34.6
Choctaw	2	1	1	13.6	10.0	19.1	2	1	1	12.1	10.0	15.3
Claiborne	6	1	5	44.3	22.1	48.9	4	1	3	31.1	22.1	33.0
Clarke	7	3	4	23.0	13.6	32.8	4	2	2	15.4	10.6	20.3
Clay	12	4	8	26.6	21.5	29.5	11	4	7	21.4	20.0	22.1
Coahoma	34	7	27	29.7	16.8	33.6	25	6	19	20.1	14.7	21.7
Copiah	11	3	8	26.2	15.9	32.0	8	3	5	15.3	12.2	17.0
Covington	4	1	3	16.3	7.4	24.2	3	1	2	7.1	3.0	10.8
DeSoto	7	4	3	14.6	11.1	23.9	4	3	1	9.5	8.4	12.4
Forrest	33	16	17	24.0	17.9	35.1	24	11	13	17.2	13.8	23.4
Franklin	4	1	3	20.0	13.4	25.6	3	1	2	13.8	10.0	17.0
George	5	5	0	17.6	14.9	33.2	3	3	0	9.9	8.3	19.0
Greene	6	4	2	29.5	23.8	41.0	5	3	2	19.3	15.3	27.3
Grenada	9	2	7	27.1	11.0	40.8	5	2	3	18.0	9.8	25.1
Hancock	3	1	2	21.8	21.6	22.9	2	1	1	16.0	16.4	13.8
Harrison	52	25	27	19.2	15.6	30.9	36	16	20	13.1	10.6	21.3

County	Infant Deaths						Neonatal Deaths					
	Number			Rate**			Number			Rate**		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Hinds	72	21	51	17.9	12.4	22.2	51	16	35	13.0	10.2	15.3
Holmes	13	4	9	27.2	17.7	29.0	5	3	2	16.8	12.6	17.6
Humphreys	11	1	10	32.5	5.4	40.9	7	1	6	22.3	2.7	28.4
Issaquena	3	2	1	70.4	82.0	65.8	3	2	1	42.2	82.0	26.3
Itawamba	0	0	0	20.9	19.4	38.1	0	0	0	15.5	14.3	28.6
Jackson	34	23	11	18.4	14.3	31.1	25	16	9	13.0	10.4	21.2
Jasper	8	0	8	29.6	17.4	36.2	7	0	7	23.4	17.4	26.7
Jefferson	2	0	2	22.9	-	25.8	1	0	1	17.2	-	19.3
Jeff Davis	3	1	2	24.9	16.8	28.8	1	1	0	13.2	12.0	13.8
Jones	19	13	6	22.7	19.1	29.6	17	12	5	17.5	14.8	22.7
Kemper	6	0	6	38.0	16.5	45.4	5	0	5	18.0	8.2	21.3
Lafayette	8	4	4	25.2	16.1	38.0	2	1	1	18.8	11.0	29.6
Lamar	3	2	1	16.6	13.7	30.1	0	0	0	13.0	11.5	20.1
Lauderdale	29	8	21	25.5	18.8	34.3	22	6	16	19.4	15.5	24.5
Lawrence	8	3	5	17.7	14.6	21.6	6	3	3	13.3	12.9	13.8
Leake	7	1	6	28.9	19.8	36.0	4	1	3	18.8	16.8	20.4
Lee	17	10	7	26.4	24.7	30.1	12	10	2	19.2	20.3	16.7
Leflore	30	6	24	37.4	27.6	41.7	20	5	15	28.2	23.9	30.0
Lincoln	9	3	6	22.7	14.9	33.5	7	3	4	16.9	13.6	21.4
Lowndes	19	6	13	20.0	11.5	31.5	12	4	8	13.6	8.0	21.1
Madison	15	1	14	22.1	7.6	27.7	11	1	10	13.3	5.7	16.3
Marion	6	1	5	26.8	17.5	40.0	4	1	3	17.8	10.4	28.6
Marshall	16	7	9	23.9	17.0	28.0	8	3	5	14.0	11.0	15.7
Monroe	15	9	6	36.2	28.8	46.0	11	7	4	27.0	22.2	33.4
Montgomery	6	1	5	28.3	17.0	35.9	5	1	4	23.1	14.9	28.7
Neshoba	8	3	5	20.0	18.4	22.1	5	3	2	14.6	15.1	14.0
Newton	10	6	4	33.3	33.1	33.6	7	5	2	23.2	24.2	22.0
Noxubee	12	1	11	48.1	20.9	56.9	10	1	9	30.6	17.9	34.7
Oktibbeha	11	4	7	23.4	10.9	36.1	8	2	6	13.6	6.2	21.2
Panola	12	3	9	32.1	20.5	38.4	6	1	5	22.1	15.6	25.6

County	Infant Deaths						Neonatal Deaths					
	Number			Rate**			Number			Rate**		
	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white	Total	White	Non-white
Pearl River	9	8	1	20.9	18.1	30.2	5	4	1	15.8	13.0	25.1
Perry	8	5	3	19.6	15.6	27.2	7	5	2	14.4	12.5	18.1
Pike	9	4	5	24.7	14.3	33.5	7	4	3	17.6	10.0	23.9
Pontotoc	3	2	1	25.0	20.2	46.2	2	1	1	19.3	16.7	30.8
Prentiss	10	7	3	30.2	27.4	43.8	7	6	1	21.1	19.5	29.2
Quitman	11	0	11	36.2	15.4	44.8	8	0	8	24.8	13.4	29.6
Rankin	13	10	3	15.0	13.8	18.6	8	6	2	11.1	10.2	14.2
Scott	6	3	3	20.8	11.1	31.6	5	2	3	12.2	6.8	18.2
Sharkey	4	0	4	21.8	8.4	25.6	2	0	2	13.2	8.4	14.6
Simpson	0	0	0	17.0	11.0	24.3	0	0	0	10.5	11.0	9.9
Smith	7	1	6	20.4	8.8	39.5	1	0	1	11.8	7.5	18.7
Stone	1	1	0	13.2	6.2	25.6	0	0	0	3.9	2.0	7.3
Sunflower	19	3	16	28.9	12.4	33.9	14	3	11	16.9	10.1	19.0
Tallahatchie	14	0	14	35.7	15.3	43.0	8	0	8	19.1	15.3	20.5
Tate	8	6	2	19.6	14.4	24.0	5	3	2	13.1	9.6	16.0
Tippah	7	4	3	23.6	17.6	43.8	4	3	1	16.2	12.3	29.2
Tishomingo	3	3	0	14.7	13.4	44.4	2	2	0	9.2	8.6	22.2
Tunica	9	1	8	27.4	29.7	26.9	4	1	3	16.4	21.2	15.4
Union	7	5	2	28.5	21.2	52.6	5	3	2	20.9	15.9	37.6
Walthall	5	1	4	21.1	10.6	29.1	3	1	2	14.7	8.5	19.4
Warren	20	8	12	30.8	20.6	41.0	15	5	10	24.0	15.3	32.7
Washington	30	9	21	23.4	18.5	25.7	16	6	10	15.4	14.4	15.9
Wayne	8	1	7	26.0	16.1	38.3	6	1	5	20.3	12.6	29.8
Webster	4	1	3	26.7	20.3	41.0	2	1	1	19.1	18.4	20.5
Wilkinson	1	0	1	20.8	13.3	23.6	1	0	1	15.9	8.8	18.5
Winston	6	2	4	24.8	18.5	29.6	4	2	2	17.3	18.5	16.4
Yalobusha	4	1	3	23.8	17.1	29.6	2	1	1	16.7	13.3	19.7
Yazoo	13	4	9	29.2	17.7	35.5	8	2	6	17.7	12.2	20.8

* Infant deaths are those of children under one year of age; neonatal deaths are those of infants under 28 days of age.

** Deaths per 1,000 live births.

TABLE 24

PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS, AND MEMBERS OF THE NURSING VOCATION, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1976

County	Physicians	Dentists	Nursing Vocation RN	LPN
Adams	55	14	144	72
Alcorn	20	12	78	65
Amite	2	2	23	29
Attala	7	4	47	78
Benton	3	0	0	8
Bolivar	20	11	101	149
Calhoun	5	3	28	47
Carroll	3	2	14	17
Chickasaw	11	3	43	72
Choctaw	4	1	15	20
Claiborne	4	2	15	10
Clarke	4	1	39	52
Clay	10	3	30	34
Coahoma	26	11	67	191
Copiah	12	4	45	59
Covington	5	3	35	38
DeSoto	8	4	32	14
Forrest	99	29	380	299
Franklin	5	1	22	22
George	7	5	39	53
Greene	3	0	24	25
Grenada	17	6	51	83
Hancock	9	5	48	40
Harrison	159	59	603	379
Hinds	527	143	1,563	804
Holmes	8	4	23	30
Humphreys	6	0	15	20
Issaquena	0	0	4	1
Itawamba	5	2	18	49
Jackson	78	34	420	357
Jasper	6	2	42	31
Jefferson	6	3	11	13
Jefferson Davis	4	2	24	23
Jones	57	20	286	335
Kemper	3	1	24	11
Lafayette	28	6	65	60
Lamar	4	2	76	72
Lauderdale	103	27	478	437
Lawrence	2	2	24	33
Leake	8	3	37	27
Lee	68	27	159	151

County	Physicians	Dentists	Nursing Vocation RN	LPN
Leflore	35	16	132	78
Lincoln	21	8	68	94
Lowndes	40	17	189	73
Madison	10	3	93	51
Marion	13	5	79	70
Marshall	10	3	18	19
Monroe	22	7	67	99
Montgomery	4	4	41	41
Neshoba	9	5	81	22
Newton	8	3	58	53
Noxubee	4	1	24	13
Oktibbeha	19	9	94	55
Panola	12	7	36	62
Pearl River	16	7	112	72
Perry	2	1	22	32
Pike	35	10	102	143
Pontotoc	6	3	28	51
Prentiss	12	4	66	77
Quitman	5	2	7	34
Rankin	38	9	244	156
Scott	9	5	64	27
Sharkey	2	2	17	12
Simpson	10	6	51	58
Smith	4	1	20	23
Stone	4	2	21	23
Sunflower	13	10	78	73
Tallahatchie	6	4	24	35
Tate	6	4	24	7
Tippah	11	5	39	61
Tishomingo	13	3	43	50
Tunica	4	1	15	11
Union	8	5	42	41
Walthall	7	2	31	29
Warren	55	16	258	272
Washington	61	24	248	43
Wayne	6	3	27	43
Webster	3	1	20	40
Wilkinson	8	5	13	19
Winston	6	3	44	37
Yalobusha	5	4	27	35
Yazoo	11	6	48	63

Source: Mississippi State Medical Association; Mississippi Dental Association; State Board of Nursing

TABLE 25

FARMS, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1959-1974

County	1959	1964	1969	1974
Adams	606	451	322	204
Alcorn	1,888	1,411	1,178	787
Amite	1,900	1,543	1,105	835
Attala	2,143	1,816	1,225	899
Benton	1,139	887	669	443
Bolivar	2,593	1,657	1,070	720
Calhoun	1,894	1,438	1,102	786
Carroll	1,481	1,142	773	630
Chickasaw	1,866	1,500	873	724
Choctaw	1,173	931	666	466
Claiborne	680	590	409	292
Clarke	1,568	1,211	708	563
Clay	1,323	1,181	738	599
Coahoma	1,847	1,153	527	366
Copiah	2,035	1,713	1,163	840
Covington	1,678	1,476	1,015	743
DeSoto	2,298	1,674	999	743
Forrest	901	663	483	417
Franklin	725	708	375	284
George	1,024	854	508	447
Greene	749	753	414	421
Grenada	966	725	541	362
Hancock	525	471	222	216
Harrison	871	500	320	249
Hinds	3,053	2,229	1,639	1,136
Holmes	2,340	1,794	1,225	789
Humphreys	1,082	693	578	383
Issaquena	313	195	174	134
Itawamba	1,772	1,489	1,094	775
Jackson	677	556	274	220
Jasper	1,944	1,599	1,080	780
Jefferson	915	628	500	375
Jefferson Davis	1,946	1,676	1,153	744
Jones	2,414	2,293	1,345	1,224
Kemper	1,730	1,455	999	784
Lafayette	1,682	1,342	948	642
Lamar	1,160	1,059	596	563
Lauderdale	1,673	1,485	933	658
Lawrence	1,286	1,169	714	506
Leake	2,640	2,220	1,540	1,162
Lee	2,555	1,797	1,264	941

County	1959	1964	1969	1974
Leflore	1,712	905	452	348
Lincoln	1,859	1,607	996	800
Lowndes	1,765	1,147	968	671
Madison	2,776	1,988	1,399	904
Marion	1,906	1,928	1,112	679
Marshall	2,622	2,024	1,312	966
Monroe	2,627	1,894	1,337	1,004
Montgomery	1,100	993	717	530
Neshoba	2,535	2,248	1.422	1,066
Newton	1,945	1,623	1,158	991
Noxubee	2,044	1,748	1,013	698
Oktibbeha	1,532	1,275	801	545
Panola	3,176	2,466	1,471	962
Pearl River	1,434	1,368	700	709
Perry	762	727	392	384
Pike	1,733	1,503	803	739
Pontotoc	2,408	1,940	1,588	1,076
Prentiss	2,017	1,563	1,242	804
Quitman	2,052	1,433	586	433
Rankin	2,023	1,597	1,071	888
Scott	2,024	1,777	1,234	983
Sharkey	531	380	245	170
Simpson	2,042	1,832	1,253	921
Smith	2,055	1,765	1,297	968
Stone	485	437	263	269
Sunflower	3,154	1,582	839	580
Tallahatchie	2,162	1,486	833	613
Tate	2,253	1,848	1.134	813
Tippah	1,937	1,711	1,403	925
Tishomingo	1,281	1,066	862	610
Tunica	1,756	853	303	225
Union	2,034	1,615	1,334	945
Walthall	1,953	1,764	1,404	974
Warren	769	600	389	302
Washington	1,501	795	653	509
Wayne	1,397	1,261	716	551
Webster	1,289	1,131	821	609
Wilkinson	912	823	477	355
Winston	2,135	1,787	1,287	899
Yalobusha	1,293	1,009	780	506
Yazoo	2,107	1,515	1,049	844

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census

TABLE 26

TOTAL HOUSING UNITS, POPULATION PER OCCUPIED UNIT, AND ESTIMATED SUBSTANDARD UNITS, PER COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

County	Total Units	Persons Per Occupied Unit	Estimated Substandard Units
Adams	11,949	3.4	6,162
Alcorn	9,376	3.1	5,004
Amite	4,339	3.6	3,107
Attala	6,590	3.3	3,891
Benton	2,631	3.6	1,884
Bolivar	13,829	3.7	7,464
Calhoun	4,885	3.2	3,498
Carroll	2,993	3.7	2,143
Chickasaw	5,358	3.4	3,061
Choctaw	2,849	3.3	2,040
Claiborne	3,047	3.4	1,847
Clarke	5,077	3.3	3,245
Clay	5,663	3.5	3,103
Coahoma	12,736	3.6	7,400
Copiah	7,646	3.4	4,893
Covington	4,254	3.4	3.046
DeSoto	10,205	3.9	6,683
Forrest	18,961	3.1	7,006
Franklin	2,781	3.2	1,991
George	3,924	3.5	2,809
Greene	2,718	3.5	1,946
Grenada	6,509	3.3	3,590
Hancock	7,330	3.3	3,146
Harrison	41,579	3.3	12,673
Hinds	67,261	3.3	36,491
Holmes	7,097	3.6	4,469
Humphreys	4,233	3.8	2,592
Issaquena	866	3.7	620
Itawamba	5,616	3.2	3,638
Jackson	27,584	3.6	10,282
Jasper	4,973	3.5	3,561
Jefferson	2,648	3.8	1,896
Jefferson Davis	3,883	3.5	2,780
Jones	18,171	3.2	8,825
Kemper	3,147	3.6	2,253
Lafayette	7,226	3.2	3,691
Lamar	4,929	3.3	3,478
Lauderdale	22,728	3.1	9,349
Lawrence	3,586	3.4	2,568
Leake	5,745	3.3	3,639
Lee	15,405	3.2	8,173

County	Total Units	Persons Per Occupied Unit	Estimated Sub-standard Units
Leflore	13,022	3.5	6,933
Lincoln	8,650	3.3	4,904
Lowndes	15,395	3.3	7,928
Madison	8,188	3.8	5,233
Marion	7,356	3.3	4,079
Marshall	6,542	4.1	4,042
Monroe	11,151	3.3	6,100
Montgomery	4,235	3.3	2,450
Neshoba	7,048	3.2	4,088
Newton	6,534	3.2	4,168
Noxubee	4,393	3.9	2,839
Oktibbeha	8,000	3.4	4,294
Panola	7,944	3.6	5,380
Pearl River	8,850	3.4	4,882
Perry	2,852	3.5	2,042
Pike	599	3.3	6,064
Pontotoc	5,908	3.1	3,729
Prentiss	6,758	3.1	3,964
Quitman	4,890	3.6	3,293
Rankin	12,097	3.5	7,913
Scott	6,644	3.5	3,792
Sharkey	2,474	3.9	1,771
Simpson	6,419	3.4	4,393
Smith	4,444	3.3	3,182
Stone	2,419	3.4	1,356
Sunflower	10,183	3.8	5,897
Tallahatchie	6,159	3.7	4,159
Tate	5,204	3.7	3,424
Tippah	5,611	3.2	3,515
Tishomingo	5,725	3.3	4,099
Tunica	3,876	3.9	2,775
Union	6,710	3.1	3,876
Walthall	4,011	3.5	2,872
Warren	15,004	3.2	8,901
Washington	21,018	3.6	9,116
Wayne	5,088	3.5	3,009
Webster	3,391	3.2	2,428
Wilkinson	3,322	3.6	2,378
Winston	5,863	3.4	3,446
Yalobusha	4,145	3.3	2,584
Yazoo	8,649	3.5	5,454

Source: Mississippi Research and Development Center

TABLE 27

SPECIFIED HOUSING DATA, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	TOTAL (ALL INCOME) FAMILY HOUSING UNITS			POOR FAMILIES PERCENT UNITS WITH INADEQUATE PLUMBING
		INADEQUATE PLUMBING		
	NUMBER	NUMBER	PERCENT	
Adams	11,949	2,765	23.1	43.9
Alcorn	9,376	2,087	22.3	36.8
Amite	4,339	1,657	38.2	60.1
Attala	6,590	2,385	36.2	54.0
Benton	2,631	998	37.9	56.5
Bolivar	13,829	5,385	39.0	58.9
Calhoun	4,885	1,396	28.6	40.9
Carroll	2,993	1,524	50.9	60.0
Chickasaw	5,358	1,653	30.7	46.1
Choctaw	2,849	1,084	38.0	47.1
Claiborne	3,047	1,460	47.9	69.4
Clarke	5,077	1,705	33.6	48.5
Clay	5,663	1,784	31.5	51.5
Coahoma	12,736	5,214	40.9	55.5
Copiah	7,646	2,665	34.9	49.8
Covington	4,254	1,305	30.7	55.8
DeSoto	10,205	2,891	28.3	57.6
Forrest	18,961	2,306	12.2	24.1
Franklin	2,781	1,064	38.3	58.5
George	3,924	930	23.7	45.3
Greene	2.718	875	32.2	50.7
Grenada	6,509	1,743	26.8	47.9
Hancock	7,330	714	9.7	13.7
Harrison	41,541	2,361	5.7	13.3
Hinds	67,261	4,499	6.7	12.7
Holmes	7,097	3,475	50.0	58.2
Humphreys	4,233	1,876	44.3	56.8
Issaquena	866	401	46.3	78.4
Itawamba	5,616	1,480	26.3	3.67
Jackson	27,584	1,738	6.3	56.4
Jasper	4,973	1,831	36.9	63.2
Jefferson	2,648	1,474	55.7	62.8
Jefferson Davis	3,883	1,484	38.2	57.8
Jones	18,171	2,680	14.7	26.3
Kemper	3,147	1,579	50.2	62.5
Lafayette	7,226	1,823	25.2	36.3
Lamar	4,929	831	16.9	22.4
Lauderdale	22,728	3,510	15.4	28.5
Lawrence	3,586	1,011	28.2	46.2
Leake	5,745	2,033	45.8	37.0
Lee	15,405	2,654	17.2	33.2
Leflore	13,022	3,801	29.2	45.4
Lincoln	8,650	1,814	21.0	38.7
Lowndes	15,395	3,320	21.6	48.5
Madison	8,194	3,242	39.6	61.7
Marion	7,356	1,731	23.5	35.8
Marshall	6,542	3,083	47.1	62.7
Monroe	11,151	2,758	24.8	40.2

Montgomery	4,235	1,385	32.7	48.5
Neshoba	7,048	2,156	30.6	44.7
Newton	6,534	1,756	26.9	34.8
Noxubee	4,393	2,339	53.2	77.0
Oktibbeha	8,000	2,172	26.8	47.3
Panola	7,944	3,212	40.4	59.0
Pearl River	8,850	1.056	11.9	17.4
Perry	2,852	898	31.5	49.1
Pike	10,599	1,904	18.0	26.4
Pontotoc	5,908	1,546	26.2	40.0
Prentiss	6,578	1,654	25.1	35.6
Quitman	4,890	2,326	47.6	55.7
Rankin	12,097	2,275	18.8	42.3
Scott	6,644	1,934	29.1	40.5
Sharkey	2,474	1,022	41.3	63.4
Simpson	6,419	1,734	27.0	42.4
Smith	4,444	1,305	29.4	46.9
Stone	2,499	468	18.7	37.1
Sunflower	10,183	3,926	38.5	49.7
Tallahatchie	6,159	3,290	53.4	60.9
Tate	5.204	1,926	37.0	50.8
Tippah	6,611	1,792	31.9	39.7
Tishomingo	5,725	1,427	24.9	32.6
Tunica	3,876	2,430	62.3	66.7
Union	6,714	1,745	26.0	43.2
Walthall	4,011	1,096	27.3	38.4
Warren	15,004	3,143	20.9	41.4
Washington	21,018	4,256	20.2	28.9
Wayne	5,088	1,676	32.9	53.5
Webster	3,391	3,107	91.6	47.7
Wilkinson	3,322	1,758	52.9	71.4
Winston	5,863	1,904	32.5	47.8
Yalobusha	4,145	1,435	34.6	44.6
Yazoo	8,649	3,314	38.3	54.0

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970; Mississippi Statistical Abstract.

TABLE 28

SPECIFIED EDUCATIONAL DATA, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	PERCENT ENROLLED AGE 14 AND 15	PERCENT ENROLLED IN SCHOOL AGE 16 & 17	PERSONS AGE 25 AND OVER		
				UNDER 8 YEARS EDUCATION	
			NUMBER	NUMBER	PERCENT
Adams	95.1	91.4	18,822	5,176	27.5
Alcorn	82.6	71.9	15,455	4,213	27.2
Amite	90.1	85.3	7.089	2,383	33.6
Attala	94.0	85.4	10,695	3,067	29
Benton	96.0	86.9	3,756	1,410	38
Bolivar	94.7	87.2	21,354	9,349	43.8
Calhoun	89.0	85.1	8,158	2,226	27.2
Carroll	99.9	82.8	4,806	1,668	34.7
Chickasaw	94.7	81.0	8,819	2,462	28
Choctaw	87.8	83.1	4,612	1,080	23.4
Claiborne	99.9	94.8	4,633	1,662	36.
Clarke	93.1	80.7	8,213	2,436	30
Clay	96.6	83.6	9,319	2,512	26.9
Coahoma	98.4	88.2	18,835	8,249	44
Copiah	93.2	84.1	12,690	3,619	28.5
Covington	93.7	87.9	7,283	2,061	28.2
DeSoto	93.9	84.6	16,708	4,520	27.0
Forrest	93.4	86.3	28,547	5,419	18.9
Franklin	98.0	91.6	4,468	1,271	28.4
George	87.1	77.5	3,481	1,539	44.2
Greene	89.3	83.4	4,482	1,566	35
Grenada	95.1	79.3	10,305	2,933	28.4
Hancock	98.3	72.4	9,105	2,182	24
Harrison	96.7	81.8	62,734	10,921	17.4
Hinds	94.5	88.4	1,071,114	17,340	16.1
Holmes	84.5	77.0	11,046	4,640	42.0
Humphreys	89.8	84.2	6,674	3,069	46
Issaquena	98.3	95.1	1,268	586	46.2
Itawamba	86.7	73.9	9,496	2,694	28.3
Jackson	95.0	83.3	41,505	6,060	14.6
Jasper	99.9	80.2	8,259	2,055	24.8
Jefferson	99.9	96.8	4,349	1,930	44.3
Jefferson Davis	99.6	83.3	6,412	1,525	24
Jones	91.2	86.0	30,653	7.534	24.5
Kemper	90.4	90.8	5,236	2,037	38.9
Lafayette	90.4	95.4	10,367	2,211	21.3
Lamar	91.8	76.7	7,851	1,872	23.8
Lauderdale	91.9	80.1	36,286	7,886	21.7
Lawrence	99.9	78.6	5,864	1,361	23.2
Leake	96.2	80.1	9,459	2,450	25.9
Lee	89.6	84.8	24,960	3,127	12.5
Leflore	92.1	74.9	20,231	7,519	37.1
Lincoln	92.2	90.6	14,028	3,346	23.8
Lowndes	92.5	88.0	23,407	5,867	25.0
Madison	93.6	86.5	13,632	4,730	34.6
Marion	91.9	81.7	11,801	3,142	26.6
Marshall	85.5	87.7	10,648	3,175	29.8

Monroe	94.2	70.9	18,049	5,061	28.0
Montgomery	91.2	86.6	6,905	1,945	28.1
Neshoba	94.6	85.8	5,844	2,799	47.8
Newton	85.3	88.7	10,342	2,348	22.7
Noxubee	38.1	31.2	6,729	2,711	40.2
Oktibbeha	95.8	85.2	11,728	2,752	23.4
Panola	98.9	80.8	13,240	4,664	35.2
Pearl River	86.7	76.5	75,019	2,805	03.7
Perry	99.1	88.9	4,604	1,283	27.8
Pike	92.8	88.7	16,949	4,570	26.9
Pontotoc	93.4	84.8	9,896	2,577	26.0
Prentiss	88.7	78.5	11,212	2,996	26.7
Quitman	95.0	76.7	7,219	3,591	49.7
Rankin	87.4	75.1	23,758	5,893	24.8
Scott	91.6	80.4	11,148	3,315	29.7
Sharkey	94.4	89.6	4,014	1,725	42.9
Simpson	77.6	69.4	10,663	3,066	28.7
Smith	93.1	78.1	7,346	1,840	25.0
Stone	89.3	82.7	4,069	763	18.7
Sunflower	89.6	82.1	17,036	7,372	43.2
Tallahatchie	92.6	81.0	9,042	4,255	47.0
Tate	91.5	81.2	8,421	2,885	34.2
Tippah	85.3	73.4	8,854	2,915	32.9
Tishomingo	90.0	92.6	8,803	3,224	36.6
Tunica	80.8	81.4	5.227	2,929	56.0
Union	94.7	75.9	10,792	3,416	31.6
Walthall	92.7	79.5	6,619	2,015	30.4
Warren	94.5	82.1	23,444	5,842	24.9
Washington	90.1	82.2	33,191	11,986	36.1
Wayne	92.9	87.2	8,275	2,276	27.5
Webster	86.8	98.4	5,639	2,486	44.0
Wilkinson	93.8	77.1	5,451	2,813	51.6
Winston	94.7	91.1	9,960	1,942	19.4
Yalobusha	99.9	88.8	6,431	1,897	29.4
Yazoo	93.4	89.2	13,794	5,052	36.6

Source: U.S. Census of [illegible]ulation, 1970.

TABLE 29

SPECIFIED HOUSING DATA, BLACK OCCUPIED UNITS, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

County	Total	Owner Occupied	Lacking Plumbing	1.01 or more persons per room	With air conditioning	With home food freezer	With telephone	One or more automobiles
Adams	4,949	47.9	44.4	27.5	52.2	36.1	76.4	75.5
Alcorn	866	50.6	44.2	23.9	55.7	44.1	68.0	82.3
Amite	1,538	59.2	73.7	28.7	29.5	49.9	55.4	78.0
Attala	1,936	53.8	69.9	29.9	33.7	55.3	70.2	70.4
Benton	583	45.3	75.3	52.0	44.0	75.4	50.3	82.7
Bolivar	6,958	42.0	64.7	35.6	41.2	42.6	53.2	66.7
Calhoun	792	34.8	70.5	42.3	49.3	72.6	72.3	79.1
Carroll	1,058	51.2	80.8	37.2	26.5	62.9	54.0	67.0
Chicasaw	1,378	52.8	70.3	35.6	48.5	49.5	60.2	78.4
Choctaw	544	69.1	76.5	26.7	34.2	67.7	68.5	71.8
Claiborne	1,785	55.3	66.9	29.2	27.0	35.3	58.9	68.4
Clarke	1,366	68.7	65.2	25.0	37.8	63.2	67.0	74.4
Clay	2,171	56.7	65.3	31.6	53.0	52.9	68.4	75.5
Coahoma	6,517	29.2	62.9	32.2	41.2	34.1	58.9	62.4
Copiah	2,994	60.0	66.0	30.3	36.7	46.5	62.5	69.9
Covington	1,042	71.3	65.0	31.5	37.5	65.8	62.5	79.2
DeSoto	2,629	34.5	81.4	44.1	61.9	42.4	67.6	80.9
Forrest	3,831	64.5	33.8	22.2	59.2	37.6	77.5	80.8
Franklin	821	61.0	72.1	30.7	32.7	58.8	59.9	72.7
George	324	81.2	71.9	34.0	44.8	54.1	59.3	87.6
Greene	431	82.8	52.2	29.0	24.6	75.1	32.4	75.0
Grenada	2,192	39.0	56.4	30.2	53.7	40.8	67.2	76.4
Hancock	620	71.1	19.7	23.9	49.4	35.7	67.5	84.1
Harrison	5,789	50.3	16.8	24.8	64.7	27.9	76.9	86.6
Hinds	20,497	46.3	17.2	31.2	62.8	36.6	81.5	82.8
Holmes	3,891	55.8	71.3	30.2	28.6	42.3	55.4	61.3
Humphreys	2,195	35.1	65.7	35.9	37.5	45.8	56.7	68.5
Issaquena	399	33.8	75.9	35.6	37.4	44.2	47.5	68.9
Itawamba	269	65.1	42.0	23.0	49.1	62.0	68.9	85.0
Jackson	3,371	61.3	16.9	28.2	67.2	39.1	76.6	90.8
Jasper	1,701	69.2	75.0	26.5	32.9	67.0	56.5	70.4
Jefferson	1,622	59.8	73.8	32.7	21.3	38.0	44.0	64.2
Jefferson Davis	1,524	76.6	67.0	25.5	32.3	68.5	57.8	79.8
Jones	3,504	50.4	38.6	26.1	51.7	52.3	72.5	78.7
Kemper	1,235	54.1	78.4	37.4	28.7	52.7	53.6	63.3
Lafayette	1,502	59.6	60.9	32.6	61.1	43.0	72.6	79.7
Lamar	517	73.5	38.1	26.5	46.8	63.0	67.1	81.0
Lauderdale	5,691	47.3	40.4	26.1	51.3	35.5	74.4	76.7
Lawrence	895	70.2	68.0	26.0	36.6	57.1	57.9	73.8
Leake	1,414	71.9	68.6	29.1	32.0	65.6	55.8	77.7

Lee	2,494	47.8	51.6	29.1	64.9	46.5	74.0	80.6
Leflore	6,039	19.6	52.8	36.7	47.8	37.9	60.4	69.0
Lincoln	2,029	58.6	51.2	24.6	42.3	46.9	70.1	80.9
Lowndes	4,084	45.8	57.4	31.2	64.1	41.7	74.7	77.5
Madison	4,026	48.9	69.2	37.4	36.5	43.3	57.6	73.3
Marion	1,713	69.6	52.3	24.3	38.7	66.8	67.9	77.0
Marshall	2,955	43.5	76.8	44.1	37.3	37.2	53.7	62.9
Monroe	2,578	56.4	56.5	25.9	51.8	55.6	69.6	78.6
Montgomery	1,391	56.1	67.2	23.4	36.9	50.3	64.2	73.2
Neshoba	1,008	56.3	66.7	27.0	40.8	62.4	62.0	75.9
Newton	1,376	65.0	61.3	24.9	34.3	62.8	62.9	80.1
Noxubee	2,135	49.2	83.4	41.6	32.2	48.5	50.3	66.4
Oktibbeha	2,263	61.5	67.8	37.8	59.6	46.9	68.5	81.7
Panola	3,023	44.3	74.1	37.2	45.3	47.4	50.0	70.9
Pearl River	1,279	65.5	25.0	24.4	49.3	52.5	72.0	82.5
Perry	559	76.6	64.6	26.8	30.9	66.1	56.8	74.1
Pike	3,478	63.8	39.9	25.8	38.4	44.5	71.7	77.3
Pontotoc	784	60.7	65.4	30.6	52.4	72.8	68.7	69.7
Prentiss	509	62.3	47.0	28.9	51.3	54.5	58.7	78.8
Quitman	2,081	37.7	71.3	34.7	38.4	47.7	46.4	64.1
Rankin	2,388	69.2	63.8	29.8	55.9	51.6	75.2	89.5
Scott	1,685	66.2	61.7	30.4	32.7	59.5	59.0	79.7
Sharkey	1,253	19.7	70.1	42.1	37.0	50.9	46.3	68.1
Simpson	1,453	65.0	65.9	28.9	37.2	58.2	62.2	79.7
Smith	588	50.5	66.3	42.7	34.9	75.8	53.1	81.1
Stone	433	76.2	59.1	36.0	44.9	55.7	68.4	86.2
Sunflower	5,035	30.7	62.3	40.3	40.0	44.5	52.7	68.3
Tallahatchie	2,663	25.3	78.6	36.8	37.0	47.6	40.4	63.9
Tate	1,808	37.7	69.6	43.8	50.5	53.5	51.8	72.1
Tippah	634	57.6	53.8	30.4	48.5	61.5	69.4	81.9
Tishomingo	156	91.0	59.0	23.7	46.7	57.7	59.9	80.0
Tunica	2,009	17.1	80.5	36.8	29.4	32.3	34.0	61.0
Union	796	49.0	61.7	28.8	57.4	58.0	65.1	78.7
Walthall	1,119	66.8	59.4	33.3	37.2	76.1	60.2	84.7
Warren	5,322	46.7	41.0	23.4	53.7	30.4	76.0	72.7
Washington	9,640	45.2	32.9	32.4	49.1	36.9	65.4	70.8
Wayne	1,293	69.8	64.4	29.5	37.8	61.8	56.8	77.9
Webster	545	47.5	70.3	37.2	46.2	62.8	66.4	80.5
Wilkinson	1,855	47.6	76.9	32.2	25.6	36.5	51.3	67.8
Winston	1,696	66.7	65.7	31.0	42.1	75.7	68.6	71.2
Yalobusha	1,105	53.0	69.9	39.2	46.2	47.1	55.6	70.7
Yazoo	3,696	39.0	62.0	33.4	40.2	42.8	60.0	69.4

Source: County and City Data Book

TABLE 30

NUMBER OF PERSONS IN LABOR FORCE, AND PERCENT UNEMPLOYED, 1977 ANNUAL AVERAGE, BY SEX, MISSISSIPPI

County	Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Adams	8,690	7.0	5,530	12.8
Alcorn	8,040	11.7	5,200	14.0
Amite	2,610	4.6	1,420	9.2
Attala	4,790	9.2	3,050	15.1
Benton	1,740	10.9	1,150	7.8
Bolivar	9,450	8.1	6,902	10.5
Calhoun	4,070	5.4	2,302	6.9
Carroll	2,270	3.1	1,230	8.1
Chickasaw	4,430	5.4	3,010	9.3
Choctaw	2,700	6.3	1,660	8.4
Claiborne	4,900	5.1	3,460	8.4
Clarke	4,190	3.8	2,750	8.4
Clay	5,080	4.7	3,450	8.4
Coahoma	7,720	8.0	5,350	13.6
Copiah	5,590	5.5	3,760	12.2
Covington	3,810	5.5	2,330	6.4
DeSoto	14,080	4.3	7,130	7.7
Forrest	16,390	5.2	11,870	6.3
Franklin	2,010	5.0	1,080	5.6
George	3,490	8.3	1,440	9.0
Greene	1,900	7.4	1,050	17.1
Grenada	4,920	7.5	3,730	11.0
Hancock	4,820	10.4	2,460	11.4
Harrison	29,360	6.1	19,130	11.3
Hinds	65,850	4.9	49,840	7.5
Holmes	4,120	9.2	2,920	15.1
Humphreys	2,890	11.1	1,680	8.9
Issaquena	610	1.6	240	8.3
Itawamba	5,050	4.8	3,410	4.7
Jackson	36,500	4.5	17,740	9.2
Jasper	3,500	6.6	1,960	8.2
Jefferson	1,620	13.6	870	17.2
Jefferson Davis	3,000	7.0	1,640	11.0
Jones	15,600	5.2	9,290	8.8
Kemper	2,390	5.4	1,180	16.1
Lafayette	7,120	3.9	5,070	3.9
Lamar	4,790	3.1	2,410	5.0
Lauderdale	16,690	5.5	12,410	10.5
Lawrence	2,480	7.3	1,440	5.6
Leake	5,050	5.7	2,910	7.2
Lee	16,030	6.7	11,420	8.2

Leflore	9,260	7.1	6,950	14.1
Lincoln	6,980	5.4	4,290	10.5
Lowndes	12,510	4.1	10,450	6.1
Madison	6,580	7.8	4,460	14.3
Marion	5,110	9.2	3,280	8.8
Marshall	6,490	8.2	3,730	18.0
Monroe	7,990	5.1	6,100	6.2
Montgomery	2,890	6.6	1,910	13.1
Neshoba	5,760	7.1	3,830	7.0
Newton	4,390	5.9	2,900	6.6
Noxubee	2,990	8.4	1,620	11.1
Oktibbeha	8,080	4.3	5,010	5.0
Panola	6,640	7.1	4,300	10.2
Pearl River	6,970	7.8	3,510	12.5
Perry	2,360	3.8	1,430	6.3
Pike	7,230	5.4	4,960	11.7
Pontotoc	5,550	5.0	3,880	5.4
Prentiss	5,960	6.2	4,710	6.8
Quitman	2,960	8.1	1,940	10.3
Rankin	12,720	4.6	8,480	7.3
Scott	6,220	3.9	3,830	8.1
Sharkey	1,830	6.0	1,130	15.0
Simpson	5,240	5.9	3,280	3.7
Smith	3,750	3.7	2,310	6.5
Stone	2,230	3.6	1,220	3.3
Sunflower	6,590	6.2	4,960	10.3
Tallahatchie	3,400	9.1	2,230	11.2
Tate	4,190	8.6	2,630	17.1
Tippah	4,930	4.9	3,580	10.9
Tishomingo	4,950	6.7	3,340	9.3
Tunica	1,910	9.9	1,250	6.4
Union	5,330	5.3	3,340	9.0
Walthall	3,030	5.3	1,850	5.9
Warren	9,950	7.3	6,950	13.1
Washington	15,960	7.7	11,220	11.4
Wayne	4,300	6.7	2,410	10.8
Webster	2,890	4.2	1,650	9.1
Wilkinson	2,330	10.3	1,370	16.1
Winston	4,420	9.7	2,800	12.9
Yalobusha	2,850	3.9	2,220	8.6
Yazoo	6,070	5.8	3,770	14.6

Source: Mississippi Employment Security Commission, Research and Statistics Department, Labor Market Information for Affirmative Action Programs (Jackson: MESS, 1978), pp.1-29

Note: This source provides the number of persons in the total labor force, number unemployed, unemployment rate, and number employed, by sex and race.

TABLE 31

SPECIFIED PUBLIC WELFARE DATA

COUNTY	PERSONS UNDER AGE 21		PERSONS AGE 65 AND BEYOND	
	NUMBER[1]	PERCENT RECEIVING A.F.D.C.[2]	NUMBER[1]	PERCENT RECEIVING OLD AGE ASSISTANCE[3]
Adams	16,585	17.8	3,383	37.5
Alcorn	10,142	8.1	3,217	37.2
Amite	6,163	6.7	1,716	32.9
Attala	7,942	11.7	2,738	39.7
Benton	3,401	15.2	864	42.6
Bolivar	24,921	26.2	4,984	46.7
Calhoun	5,741	12.2	1,885	37.2
Carroll	4,160	17.0	1,122	51.7
Chickasaw	7,087	12.8	2,043	44.5
Choctaw	3,382	15.8	1,210	48.2
Claiborne	4,781	18.5	1,080	48.8
Clarke	6,123	15.9	1,992	42.6
Clay	8,475	15.2	1,939	38.8
Coahoma	19,830	21.9	4,462	46.9
Copiah	10,959	14.5	3,192	40.6
Covington	6,085	10.6	1,554	46.4
DeSoto	17,246	9.1	2,452	42.9
Forrest	24,255	4.7	5,408	23.7
Franklin	3,217	3.4	1,146	40.7
George	5,480	7.5	1,064	37.5
Greene	3,755	12.1	938	43.0
Grenada	8,491	15.4	2,212	37.3
Hancock	7,336	3.8	1,750	17.9
Harrison	60,378	4.9	9,160	16.8
Hinds	93,514	13.8	16,788	28.1
Holmes	11,135	35.2	3,063	50.5
Humphreys	7,309	28.1	1,529	48.4
Issaquena	1,336	24.0	301	51.5
Itawamba	6,377	3.0	1,995	41.1
Jackson	40,593	3.9	4,273	18.5
Jasper	6,900	13.3	1,899	43.0
Jefferson	4,522	27.1	1,204	58.3
Jefferson Davis	5,850	15.0	1,357	48.2
Jones	22,673	8.2	6,024	28.3
Kemper	4,554	9.1	1,409	36.1
Lafayette	10,795	9.0	2,129	34.2
Lamar	6,549	9.5	1,502	38.5
Lauderdale	26,216	14.2	7,560	28.5
Lawrence	4,774	11.5	1,230	48.9
Leake	6,853	13.9	2,280	49.1
Lee	18,381	6.5	4,473	32.7
Leflore	19,596	20.7	4,410	44.3
Lincoln	10,817	11.3	2,983	34.0
Lowndes	20,129	13.0	4,044	30.2
Madison	14,473	24.2	2,978	50.1
Marion	9,877	9.5	2,476	44.9
Marshall	12,111	25.2	2,251	52.7
Monroe	14,129	9.7	3,789	35.0

Montgomery	5,476	23.5	1,685	49.9
Neshoba	8,414	10.5	2,590	38.2
Newton	7,629	8.5	2,607	33.1
Noxubee	6,971	18.4	1,616	47.8
Oktibbeha	13,592	12.9	2,142	36.4
Panola	12,377	14.8	3,099	36.5
Pearl River	12,208	8.0	2,363	30.3
Perry	4,007	10.8	922	46.7
Pike	13,377	15.9	3,965	31.3
Pontotoc	6,621	7.3	2,384	43.1
Prentiss	7,757	7.2	2,388	43.0
Quitman	7,876	10.5	1,732	43.9
Rankin	17,665	3.0	3,726	23.1
Scott	9,117	8.0	2,325	41.4
Sharkey	4,580	27.2	871	45.8
Simpson	8,323	7.1	2,505	36.2
Smith	5,511	6.8	1,536	43.9
Stone	3,568	7.8	806	28.7
Sunflower	18,062	26.2	3,696	47.7
Tallahatchie	9,432	22.9	2,332	50.1
Tate	9,127	14.4	1,828	40.5
Tippah	6,211	11.5	2,015	44.2
Tishomingo	5,394	5.1	1,966	42.0
Tunica	6,129	23.1	1,394	53.0
Union	7,214	8.4	2,508	41.5
Walthall	5,318	18.0	1,415	42.3
Warren	19,259	13.3	4,770	30.9
Washington	33,896	15.3	6,327	41.0
Wayne	7,487	29.1	1,707	46.1
Webster	3,894	29.1	1,461	36.8
Wilkinson	5,150	19.0	1,272	49.7
Winston	7,288	13.7	2,199	43.7
Yalobusha	4,902	13.0	1,750	40.9
Yazoo	12,415	25.4	3,160	46.9

[1] 1970

[2] 1971

[3] 1972

Source: Mississippi Statistical Abstract; U.S. Census of Population, 1970; County and City Data Book, 1972.

TABLE 32

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION[1], BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

COUNTY	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER NONWHITE	SPANISH SPEAKING
Adams	19,249	17,780	14	127
Alcorn	9,284	2,182	51	96
Amite	6,821	6,928	0	0
Attala	4,529	2,638	93	*
Benton	4,350	3,149	0	0
Bolivar	18,020	30,070	67	447
Calhoun	10,787	3,806	0	28
Carroll	4,611	4,753	5	0
Chickasaw	10,808	5,964	4	*
Choctaw	6,070	2,359	0	*
Claiborne	2,564	6,736	0	*
Clarke	9,615	5,389	19	*
Clay	9,479	8,943	6	*
Coahoma	14,107	25,612	227	36
Copiah	1,853	12,399	10	70
Covington	9,432	4,552	0	0
DeSoto	23,233	12,576	15	87
Forrest	40,365	13,985	118	316
Franklin	4,892	3,104	5	0
George	10,984	1,448	14	137
Greene	6,652	1,868	15	0
Grenada	10,980	8,633	0	*
Hancock	14,814	2,447	22	236
Harrison	101,728	21,720	375	2197
Hinds	127,545	82,320	138	669
Holmes	6,917	15,673	40	0
Humphreys	5,127	9,421	14	*
Issaquena	1,039	1,698	0	*
Itawamba	15,799	893	5	*
Jackson	73,207	14,121	106	608
Jasper	8,571	7,410	7	49
Jefferson	2,299	6,981	0	0
Jefferson Davis	6,435	6,334	0	27
Jones	41,075	13,339	114	*
Kemper	4,282	5,602	179	0
Lafayette	14,250	6,603	53	97
Lamar	13,151	2,001	0	45
Lauderdale	44,228	20,266	111	496
Lawrence	7,546	3,562	4	0
Leake	10,372	6,085	618	*
Lee	36,336	9,523	14	63
Leflore	17,364	23,970	135	64
Lincoln	17,930	7,981	29	*
Lowndes	30,914	16,405	65	159
Madison	11,107	18,233	0	*
Marion	15,465	6,991	37	62
Marshall	9,091	14,471	4	47
Monroe	23,630	10,353	6	*

Montgomery	7,043	5,774	5	61
Neshoba	15,295	4,098	1,288	*
Newton	12,845	5,178	443	35
Noxubee	4,827	9,380	19	59
Oktibbeha	15,689	9,958	152	84
Panola	13,034	13,749	15	*
Pearl River	22,322	5,109	9	90
Perry	6,674	2,378	5	12
Pike	17,636	13,776	7	137
Pontotoc	14,144	3,097	41	0
Prentiss	17,671	2,305	0	*
Quitman	6,730	8,938	38	*
Rankin	29,314	10,139	81	146
Scott	14,262	7,049	12	*
Sharkey	3,137	5,779	11	0
Simpson	13,504	6,103	31	*
Smith	10,620	2,881	53	*
Stone	5,799	1,831	5	*
Sunflower	5,246	11,723	93	*
Tallahatchie	1,248	1,339	34	0
Tate	9,183	8,660	4	0
Tippah	13,116	2,567	20	0
Tishomingo	14,260	669	0	0
Tunica	3,240	8,554	0	*
Union	16,051	2,944	6	44
Walthall	7,343	5,088	6	0
Warren	126,218	18,201	114	209
Washington	31,733	38,196	247	145
Wayne	11,051	5,470	17	*
Webster	7,692	2,251	0	0
Wilkinson	3,583	7,494	17	*
Winston	10,946	7,158	252	0
Yalobusha	7,077	4.743	0	*
Yazoo	12,678	14,512	0	*

Source: 1970 Census 4th Court Summary Tape

* Number not disclosed

[1] Persons in households

CHAPTER THREE

COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY USER GUIDE AND INDEX

The objective of this chapter is to provide a ready reference to the county level statistical data in chapter two. First, there is a Community Action Agency planner user guide to provide a quick reference to the variety and nature of the data contained in chapter two. For example, the number of elderly population per county in 1976 may be found in table 14 (as indicated by the entry "Population, Elderly, 1976, 14"), or the estimated number of poor children age 6-18, 1976, in table 11, or the black families with below poverty incomes in table 9.

Following this array is a ready reference guide to the county level statistical material in chapter two arranged on a sample CAP Form 5, "Community Information." The location in chapter two for finding any item called for in sections 5.3.1 through 5.3.9 is provided on the same line. For example, if a planner needs to know the percent of all families in any county in Mississippi with an income of less than $3,000, that data may be found in table 5 of chapter two; the percent of all females unemployed in Table 30 of chapter two. The goal is to provide sufficient information in one convenient source from which a CAP Form 5 may be completed without resort to other documents.

COMMUNITY ACTION AGENCY PLANNER USER GUIDE

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Poverty (Persons and Families)
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Last numbers refer to table number in Chapter Two where specific information may be found. For example, the location in chapter two for the number and percent of males in the labor force, 1977, is Table 30.

Office of Economic Opportunity
APPLICATION FOR COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAM

FORM APPROVED.
BUDGET BUREAU NO. 116-R019

CAP 5. COMMUNITY INFORMATION

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY

DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

5.1 COMMUNITY TO BE SERVED *Des*
Attach a map showing the boundari
servation(s), etc., which are included.

5.2 COMMUNITY SUBDIVISIONS *Have*
"A", "B", "C", "D", etc. on the
areas Census tracts, enumeration d.
erty? If so, indicate such areas as
such areas. For example, are the

Tables listed below for each item reference specific table in chapter two where this particular item of information may be obtained.

5.3 INCIDENCE OF POVERTY *Provide the latest readily available information on the community with respect to as many of the following categories as feasible. If you have subdivided the community into areas, as described above, also provide the information for each area. Substitute or add other categories and related statistics as necessary to demonstrate the incidence of poverty.*

Attach a statement describing the sources and time period of the information. Information obtained from the 1960 U. S. Census of Population and Housing may be noted by placing an asterisk (*) to the right of the ITEM name below. See the CAP GUIDE for suggested sources of information.

	ITEM	COMMUNITY TOTAL	AREA "A"	AREA "B"	AREA "C"
5.3.1 POP.	TOTAL POPULATION	Tables 1, 2			
	PERCENT OF POPULATION LIVING IN RURAL AREAS	Table 2 %	%	%	%
5.3.2 FAMILY INCOME	TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES	Table 5			
	TOTAL NUMBER OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME LESS THAN $3,000	Table 5			
	PERCENT OF ALL FAMILIES WITH INCOME LESS THAN $3,000	Table 5 %	%	%	%
	FAMILIES WITH INCOME LESS THAN $1,000	Table 5			
	FAMILIES WITH INCOME FROM $1,000 - $1,999	Table 5			
	FAMILIES WITH INCOME FROM $2,000 - $2,999	Table 5			
5.3.3 UNEMPLOYMENT	MALES 14 AND OVER IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE	Table 30			
	PERCENT OF SUCH MALES WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED	Table 30 %	%	%	%
	FEMALES 14 AND OVER IN CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE	Table 30			
	PERCENT OF SUCH FEMALES WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED	Table 30 %	%	%	%
5.3.4 WELFARE	PERSONS UNDER 21	Table 31			
	PERCENT OF PERSONS UNDER 21 RECEIVING A.F.D.C. PAYMENTS	Table 31 %	%	%	%
	PERSONS AGED 65 AND OVER	Tables 12, 14, 31			
	PERCENT OF PERSONS 65 AND OVER RECEIVING OLD-AGE ASSISTANCE	Table 31 %	%	%	%

(Continued on Page 2 of this form.)

CAP 5. COMMUNITY INFORMATION *(Continued)*

NAME OF APPLICANT AGENCY	DO NOT FILL IN: *(For Administrative Use)*

	ITEM	COMMUNITY TOTAL	AREA "A"	AREA "B"	AREA "C"
5.3.5 EDUCATION	PERCENT OF PERSONS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL *(14 and 15 years old)*	Table 28 %	%	%	%
	PERCENT OF PERSONS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL *(16 and 17 years old)*	Table 28 %	%	%	%
	TOTAL NUMBER OF PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER	Table 28			
	PERSONS 25 AND OVER WITH LESS THAN 8 YEARS OF EDUCATION	Table 28			
	PERCENT OF PERSONS 25 AND OVER WITH LESS THAN 8 YEARS OF EDUCATION	Table 28 %	%	%	%
5.3.6 SELECTIVE SERVICE	PERSONS AGED 18 TO 25 WHO WERE EXAMINED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE	NOT APPLICABLE			
	PERSONS REJECTED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE *(4F and 1Y)*	NOT APPLICABLE			
	PERCENT OF PERSONS EXAMINED WHO WERE REJECTED BY SELECTIVE SERVICE *(4F and 1Y)*	NOT APPLICABLE %	%	%	%
5.3.7 HEALTH	BIRTHS PER YEAR	Tables 15, 16			
	DEATHS PER YEAR OF INFANTS UNDER 12 MONTHS	Table 13			
	INFANT DEATHS AS A PERCENT OF BIRTHS PER YEAR	Table 13 %	%	%	%
5.3.8 HOUSING	ALL HOUSING UNITS	Tables 26, 27			
	NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS WHICH ARE SUBSTANDARD	Table 26			
	PERCENT OF ALL HOUSING UNITS WHICH ARE SUBSTANDARD	Divide column 3 into column 1, Table 26 %	%	%	%
5.3.9 MINORITY GROUPS	*(Specify group and number of persons in each.)*				
	Ethnic composition of population	Table 32			
	Poverty among blacks	Table 9			
	Ethnic composition of poor	Table 8			
5.3.10 OTHER	*(Specify category and number of persons in each.)*				
	Poor	Tables 6, 7, 10			
	Severely Poor	Tables 6, 7			
	Near Poor	Tables 6, 7	-90 102		

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PART B

A DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC PROFILE OF MISSISSIPPI

CHAPTER FOUR

MISSISSIPPI: STATE, PEOPLE, CULTURE

Time Past Becomes Time Present

In the Mississippi of 1940 the mule and the sharecropper were ubiquitous parts of an economic system which helped keep much of her population in an economic backseat, while segregation afforded social controls over blacks similar to those which slavery had afforded in the past.[1] In 1941 Mississippi had circa seventeen agriculture and other extractive industry workers for every one person employed in manufacturing. No other State in the republic showed such a concentration in low-value production.[2]

Domination of Mississippi by the one-crop cotton economy with its attendant tenancy, poverty, white supremacy and general provincialism established the rhythm of the culture and set the tone for a way of life that was both proverbial and distinct. Perhaps indicative of this uniqueness has been the popularity of Mississippi among literators for travel accounts, reminiscences, and anecdotes both by indigenous absconding and itinerant authors, evidencing an interest in a market for descriptive and critical Mississippiana. A similar fascination for the State has been displayed by scholars who have made forays into the State to report its customs, culture, and style of life in community studies. To be in or of Mississippi has been to partake of something sufficiently distinct to make it of sufficient interest to record and distribute, albeit the image was derogatory and unfavorable as viewed from the rurality, ostentacious Biblicality, quaintness, backwardness, racial duality, belligerency, and provincialism (ranging from beliefs about governmental functions and organization to homogenous population characteristics). The persistance of themes, patterns, and institutional practices which the national experience had by passed decades earlier long made Mississippiana reportable and thus of intense concern, focus, curia, and clouded image to the outside world.

Like the rest of the South, Mississippi reached a watershed in historical development in the 1940s. The years of World War II were catalysts for change in Mississippi, opening the State to the outside world and setting in motion forces which over the past generation have brought about fundamental alterations in the institutions under which Mississippians live.[3]

CULTURAL CHANGE

Differences in racial practices and attitudes in Mississippi today and only a decade ago are notable and distinct. Boland's observation that a Southern Rip Van Winkle awakening from a several decade sleep would not believe his senses at the differential role played by blacks in economic, educational, and political life[4] is no less apt for Mississippi than for her sister Southern States. It was not without emotion and some violence that Mississippi's ties to the segregationist past were broken, but by the mid-70s Mississippi's success in adjustment to new ways was reflected in the fact that the State's blacks had more freedom from local controls and enjoyed more economic prosperity than ever before.[5]

Segregation and Poverty

Describing conditions of black rural servitude in Mississippi in the mid-century decade, McCord pictured the black community as

> ...an impoverished, downtrodden group of peasants lacking legal, economic, and political power; a matriarchal society whose members found their solace in religion, sex, or crime; a servile class of serfs jumping obediently and smilingly to the orders of white masters. Except for...escape routes to New Orleans and Memphis--and from there to Detroit, Chicago, or New York -- it was a world of no exit for the Negro...[6]

Leflore County in 1962 is described by Loewen and Sallis in the following terms:

> Sixty-four percent of the people living in Leflore County were black. Most of them lived in poverty, but many whites were also poor. Thirty-six white families earned (sic) over $25,000 a year...more than the 3,600 poorest families. Of the 168 hospital beds...131 were reserved for whites.[7]

Some observers were convinced that "in such an environment, one can hardly expect whites themselves to initiate a revolution in social customs."[8] According to Professor James Silver, Mississippi was a "closed society" wherein it seemed "unlikely that the backward and impoverished white majority" would voluntarily abandon the myths incalculated by years of indoctrination by forces against change and reinforced by the lethargy of custom. Possibly above all, McCord opined, "Sheer poverty and ignorance are perhaps the most effective breaks on change."[9]

Catalyst for Change

Although political change is necessitated by economic and social change as the organization and function of any political system must continually adjust to keep pace with alterations taking place in society, in Mississippi it was the race issue that determined much of the state's political outlook.[10] In the 1960s Mississippi could be described as "the citadel of southern authoritarianish" in symbol and fact.[11] According to Silver, during 1960-1964 the Citizen's Council[12] perhaps "exercised a position of power and prestige seldom if ever achieved before by any extralegal group in the history of Mississippi."[13] However, the mid-1960's constituted another watershed of social, economic, and political change. The state of Mississippi emerged from the conflict of the 1960s "much different from the state that saw Ross Barnett move into the governor's mansion in January 1960."[14]

By 1964 "various forces converged upon Mississippi with the goal of integrating the backward society into twentieth century America."[15] The "freedom summer" or "Mississippi Summer Project" coordinated by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO)[16] was designed as a catalyst for change as circa 1,000 collegians and others ascended into the state to promote consciousness raising, political organization, and confrontation.[17] Although the civil rights workers may have made little surface accomplishment, their prescence and activity probably gave focus and momentum to incipient changes that were "bound to produce far reaching changes."[18] Loewen and Sallis note that many new activities were started by people who were active in the 1964 summer. Furthermore, their activities and the state's reaction[19] helped bring national attention[20] on conditions in Mississippi, all of which helped bring Mississippi from the past[22] into the present.[23]

ECONOMIC CHANGE

Economic Modernization and Industrialization

Among the foremost changes in Mississippi are those that have occurred in the economic realm. In the early decades of this centurn Mississippi was "an agrarian state still trying to live on cotton and riding the back of the tenant farmers."[24] Whatley has given the following description:

> Being predominantly an agricultural region, Mississippi had not shared in the prosperity of the 1920s to a very large extent...Farm income per capita was only $200 per year...thousands of people lost their homes at the sound of the sheriff's hammer...men could not pay the property taxes or meet the mortgage provisions on

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> their land. Approximately forty thousand families were homeless because of this situation. These sales represented approximately fourteen percent of all town property and twenty percent of all farms. Seventy-four sheriffs sold 39,699 farms, and on one Monday, the state acquired 400,000 acres of farm soil.

Although agriculture remains an important segment of the economy, Mississippi is no longer predominantly an agrarian state. Mississippi agriculture has changed from a way of life to a highly capitalized commercial enterprise favoring intensive technology and mechanization.[26] King Cotton was disposed from his throne as the husbandtry and cultivation of beef cattle, hogs, and catfish, and rice, soybeans, and other crops assumed greater significance, while the State's industrial expansion marked an irreversible break with her agrarian heritage. In 1965, for the first time, the number of Mississippian's employed in manufacturing exceeded the number employed in agriculture. By 1970 Mississippi had largely made the transition from a rurally focused culture dominated by an agricultural ethos to an industrial and commercial mode of life for most of her citizens.

> As recently as 1959 in Lauderdale County... there were 1,700 fulltime farming operations. Now the number has dwindled to 75. Raising either trees or cattle on a part-time basis, Lauderdale Countians who once earned their living farming...commute to factory jobs in the city.[27]

Preemption of Social Over Economic Questions

Landry has suggested that for a sustained period an attitude of economic conservation "was dominant in Mississippi because major political attention had not been placed on economic issues, but on the social question of race relations."[28] During 1950-1965 the Mississippi political environment was largely influenced by resistance to federal efforts to eliminate state laws providing segregated schools and discrimination in voting rights of Mississippi blacks.[29] Due to the allegedly excessive concern with maintenance of the social status quo, Landry claims, less privileged Mississippians were diverted from focusing on their economic interest. Economic elites, concerned with protecting the interest of persons of advantaged socio-economic status, were able to manipulate power to protect the interests of high status privileged groups by catering to the social conservatism of lower SES (socio-economic status) whites, and were

> ...able to successfully monopolize political power and preserve a conservative (sic) economic outlook. Special favors to...contractors and utility companies went unchallenged, and decisions on major issues such as who in the state would carry the major tax burden were quietly decided in the favor of economic elites to the detriment of lower-income groups...[30]

Changing Industrial Mix

The far-reaching alterations which have taken place in the Mississippi economy are reflected in new demands and opportunities for certain occupations and skills, while the demand for others has declined. The spread of supermarkets and similar establishments in the trade industry, organizational changes in commercial enterprises, and technological changes in agriculture and manufacturing, have brought about declines in some areas and increased employment in other activities.

The total personal income received from farming in Mississippi was greater than received from any other source until the late 1950s. In recent years total income from manufacturing has quadrupled that received from farming, and income from several other industry groups exceeds that received from farms. The proportion of total labor and proprietors income received from farming in 1974 (9.7%) was less than one-half the 1954 figure (21.2%) and less than one-third of the 1950 figure (30.0%). However, only nine states have higher percentages of income from agriculture than that found in Mississippi. Although agriculture has declined in relative economic significance in Mississippi, it clearly remains a more significant component of the state's economy than it is in most states.[31]

Changes in production methods, in organization, in technology, or the adoption of mechanization, may stimulate expansion or contraction in particular occupations. Mechanization and the trend toward gigantic complexes in the agricultural sector, for example, resulted in a sharp increase in the percentage of laborers (from circa 30% to more than 50%), while the proportion of farmers and farm managers to total workers in agriculture decreased from over two-thirds to just over one-third.

Between 1960 and 1970 the number of persons employed in educational services in Mississippi increased by 27,000 out of a net increase of 37,000 employed persons. There was a decline of 92,500 persons employed in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries, and a decrease of nearly 23,000 employed as private household workers. During this interval, the number of Mississippians employed in manufacturing increased by a total of 55,000, of which 36,000 was in durable and 19,000 in non-durable goods (Appendix B, Table 42).

Numerical increases in excess of 5,000 persons occurred in the following industries: construction, metal industries, manufacturing, electrical and non-electrical machinery manufacturing, transportation equipment manufacturing, textiles and fabricated products, other nondurable goods, wholesale trade, other retail trade, finance, insurance and real estate, hospitals, and public administration.

POLITICAL CLIMATE AND PRACTICE

Changes have also been notable in the political realm.[32] Access by black citizens to the ballot box "wrought a remarkable change in southern politics and in southern society, too, as the blacks worked upon the many inequities that had plaqued their lives for so long."[33]

Although there were only 20,000 black registered voters in Mississippi in 1964,[34] the effect of the emergence of black voters was indicated in a straw ballot taken in November, 1964, wherein 63,000 voted for Johnson and 17 for Goldwater.[35] Mississippi's local officialdom, and even one federal Congressman (John Bell Williams) were almost unanimous in their repudiation of Johnson and support of Barry.[36] Landry feels that the "average Mississippian" has voted emotionally (for men who supported racial conservatism) rather than rationally in his economic interest. Consequently, Landry claims, Mississippians failed to support the economic platform of the national Democratic party.[37] Mississippi gave President Nixon his strongest vote in the nation in 1972.

The 1968 inaugural saw Governor John Bell Williams accompanied into office by nearly two dozen newly elected black officials, including the Mississippi legislature's first black member in the twentieth century.[38] Black integration into the political process has become an accepted fact of life in Mississippi politics which is "slowly creating a political movement in Mississippi by providing a distinct 'liberal' input to government."[39] And, while "the major changes in state politics have come about as the result of induced pressure from Washington,"[40] a variety of interrelated quiescent and natural changes occuring subsequent to World War II has affected the organization and function of the state's political system. For example, the more complex system of social organization concomitant to an increasingly urbanized population has been said to mean that "more attention must be given to state services."

The turn of the decade saw the end of the school integration confrontation with a result the state had stubbornly and belligerently resisted and which had for fifteen years occupied much political energy and public attention. Segregation and the euphemism of "maintaining quality education" were upstaged by new interests thought more in keeping with the tenor of the times as the prospect of legal avoidance was closed[42] by the October, 1969 ruling of the federal Supreme Court which overturned the freedom-of-choice plans "that generally brought only token integration since the first Mississippi desegregation in 1964."[43] Governor Williams, in a statewide address, announced: "The moment that we have resisted for 15 years --that we have fought hopefully to avoid, at least to delay -- is finally at hand. We have reached the moment of decision. I am frank to tell you that our arsenal of legal and legislative weapons has been exhausted."[44]

An older era had come to its close, a new one begun. School integration gardyloo ceased to dominante press, governor, or legislature. There was some official discussion of "dispatching Mississippi lawyers into areas north, east, and west to bring lawsuits and possibly take other steps toward such race-mixing as Mississippi schools are ordered to bring about" and bring about reinstatement of "freedom of choice" on the theory that "when other areas of the nation experienced desegregation on the scale being ordered in the South, the reaction will result in a more moderate approach and possibly a nationwide freedom-of-choice policy."[45] For the most part, however, official attention turned in a different direction, such as a "strong program to the state and national community (sic) on promoting Mississippi."[46]

By the mid-1970s many were convinced that "Mississippi is a different state, in many ways, a new state...a long, long way from the scenes of the 1960s."[47] It is clear that Mississippi is on the move away from its proverbial disfavor toward a more favorably received image[48] and that "Mississippi is taking its place in the modern age."[49]

SUMMARY

In this century Mississippi changed from a one-crop economy to a diversified agricultural, manufacturing, and service economy. Although agriculture remains an important segment of the economy, Mississippi is no longer an agrarian state. Mississippi has largely made the transition from a rurally focused culture dominated by an agricultural ethos to an industrial and commercial mode of life for most of her citizens. Changes have also been notable in the political realm.

CHAPTER FIVE

MISSISSIPPI'S POPULATION: CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGE

Mississippi has long recognized that "the number one resource of Mississippi is its people."[1] One of the societal changes reflected in population statistics is the distribution of the population among geographic areas, particularly as this relates to the magnitude and direction of change over time. Another feature of population inquiry which is an essential ingredient for informed planning is that of the demographic characteristics of the population. This chapter seeks to provide a brief overview of the profile, changes and trends of the Mississippi population in terms of growth patterns, distribution, adn basic demographic features.

Population Growth and Distribution

The sources of population change in an area are natural increase (difference between births and deaths) and migration (population movement). These variables in combination account for the redistribution of population within an area as well as its overall growth or decline.

Demographic, economic, and technological developments in the United States are rapidly changing the distribution of people both between cities and rural areas as well as within each area.[2] The sources of population change in an area are natural increase (differential between births and deaths) and net-migration (difference between in-migrants and out-migrants).

Although there has been considerable internal redistribution of population, Mississippi suffered only a slight population increase (1.5%) between 1930 and 1970 inspite of a high birth rate. This salubriously stable balance resulted from the combined interaction of the redistributive processes of urban area growth, rural area decline, and overall net out-migration. However, during 1970-1976 Mississippi suffered an increase of 7%, which could be an omen of future trends. A perspective on the magnitude of this increase (150,000 persons) may be gained by noting that this represents population growth equal to a city the size of Jackson in 1970 (154,000) within a seven year period.

TABLE 1

MISSISSIPPI POPULATION AND ESTIMATED POPULATION, 1900 - 2000

		White		Black	
Year	Total	Number	%	Number	%
2000	2,763,000	NA	NA	NA	NA

1990	2,617,000	NA	NA	NA	NA
1980	2,421,000	NA	NA	NA	NA
1977	2,368,000	NA	NA	NA	NA
1976	2,354,000	NA	NA	NA	NA
1970	2,216,912	1,393,283	62.8	823,629	37.2
1960	2,178,141	1,257,546	57.7	920,595	42.3
1950	2,178,914	1,188,632	54.6	990,282	45.4
1940	2,183,796	1,106,327	50.7	1,077,469	49.3
1930	2,009,821	998,077	49.7	1,011,744	50.3
1920	1,790,618	853,962	47.7	936,656	52.3
1910	1,797,114	786,111	56.3	1,011,003	56.3
1900	1,551,270	641,200	41.3	910,070	58.1

Source: 1900-1970, U.S. Census of Population. 1976, Current Population Reports, Series P-26, No. 76-24, 1977. Current Population Reports, Series P-25. No.727 (July, 1978). 1980-2000. Current Population Reports, Series P-25 NO. 735 (October, 1978).

Rural-Urban Distribution

The census bureau employs several concepts to describe the rural and urban population. Briefly these are delineated as:

Rural - Urban Definition

Urban Areas/Population:	Persons living in places of 2,500 or more population.
Rural Areas/Population:	Persons not living in urban areas.

Urban Place Definitions

Urbanized Areas:	At least one city of 50,000 or more persons plus the surrounding closely settled territory that meets certain criteria of population density or land use.
Central Cities:	The legal city
Urban Fringe:	Remainder of the urbanized area.

Metropolitan - Non Metropolitan Definition

Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA):

County containing a central city of 50,000 or more persons plus contiguous counties closely integrated on the basis of social and economic criteria.

Metropolitan Area/Population:

> When used in reference to the SMSA concept, it means the area/population within the SMSA. Counties not within the SMSA would be non-metropolitan according to the SMSA definition.

In 1920, for the first time, as many as one-half of the nation's population lived in areas which the census bureau defined as urban. At this time Mississippi was only 13.4% urban. Although the rate of urbanization accelerated significantly after 1920, so that the population increased to 20%, 28% and 38% urban by 1960, Mississippi has remained a comparatively rural State.[3] In 1970 Mississippi ranked highest in the South and fourth among all States in percentage of rural population, with its people apportioned as 55.5% rural and 45.5% urban (Table 2). By comparison, the 1970 census showed that 73.5% of the national population lived in urban areas.

The rural nature of Mississippi looms large in its heritage, with its effects reflected throughout the State's history, culture, and values. While the urbanization of Mississippi's population is noticable and dramatic, even the nature and degree of this development somewhat underscores the rural and small town character of the state.[4]

Over one-half of the municipalities in Mississippi have less than 1,000 people. Only eight cities in Mississippi in 1970 had a population that exceeded 25,000. The 1970 census marked the entry of 16 additional urban places.[5] Those areas were Brandon, Carthage, Drew, Fulton, Macon, Magee, Morton, Ponotoc, Quitman, Rosedale, Shaw, Shelby, Southaven, State College, Waveland, and Wiggins.[6]

TABLE 2

RURAL - URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION
MISSISSIPPI, 1900 - 1970

Year	Total	Urban		Rural	
		Number	%	Number	%
1970	2,216,912	986,642	44.5	1,230,270	55.5
1960	2,178,141	820,805	37.7	1,357,336	62.3
1950	2,178,914	607,162	27.9	1,571,752	72.1
1940	2,183,796	432,882	19.8	1,750,914	80.2
1930	2,009,821	338,850	16.9	1,670,971	83.1
1920	1,790,618	240,121	13.4	1,550,497	86.6
1910	1,797,114	207,311	11.5	1,589,803	88.5
1900	1,551,270	120,035	7.7	1,431,235	92.3

Source: U.S. Census of Population.

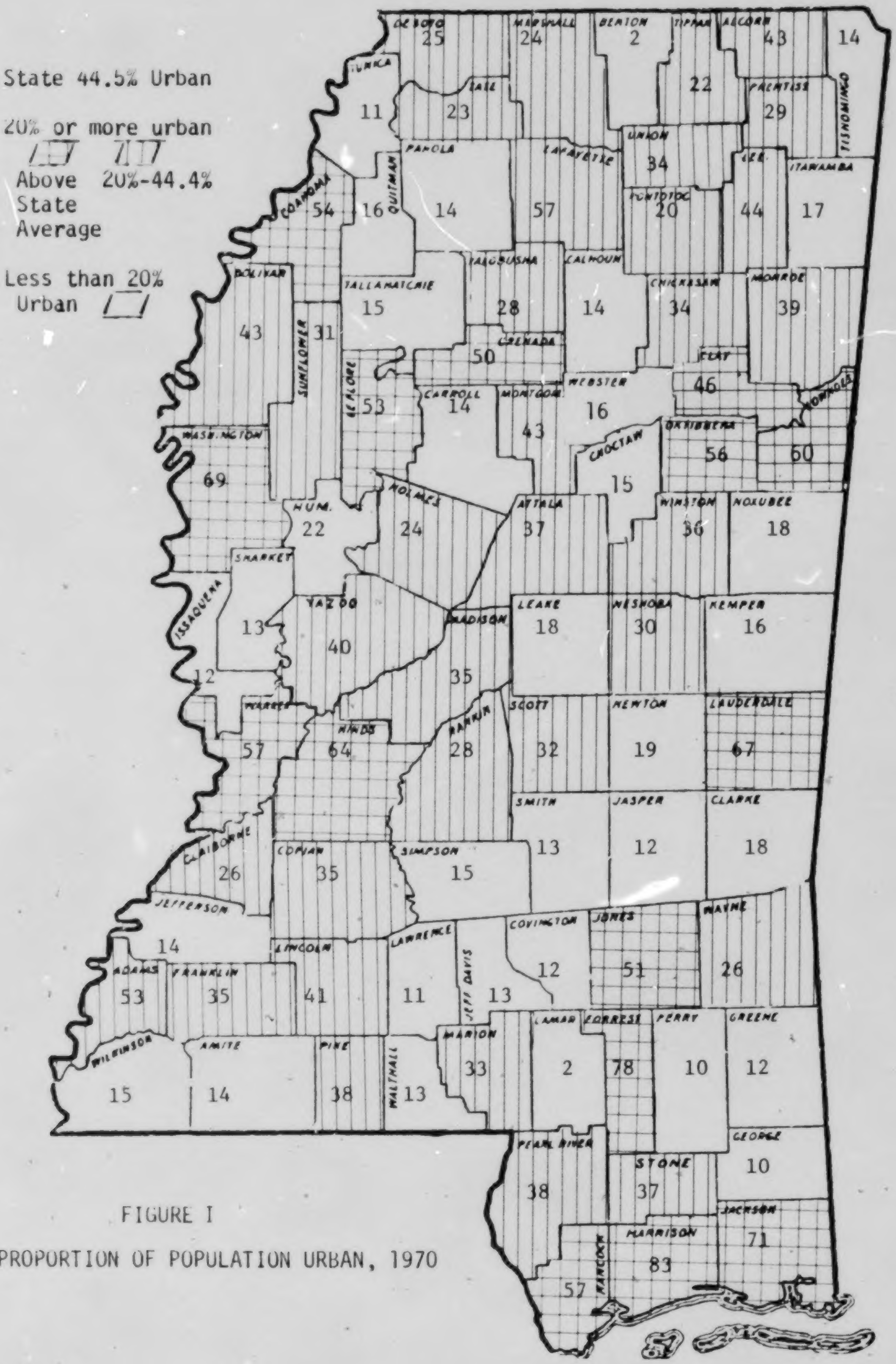

State 44.5% Urban
20% or more urban
Above State Average
20%-44.4%
Less than 20% Urban
DESOTO 25
MARSHALL 24
BENTON 2
TIPPAH 22
ALCORN 43
14
TISHOMINGO
TUNICA 11
TATE 23
PRENTISS 29
PANOLA 14
LAFAYETTE 57
UNION 34
LEE 44
ITAWAMBA 17
COAHOMA 54
QUITMAN 16
PONTOTOC 20
BOLIVAR 43
SUNFLOWER 31
TALLAHATCHIE 15
YALOBUSHA 28
CALHOUN 14
CHICKASAW 34
MONROE 39
GRENADA 50
CLAY 46
LEFLORE 53
CARROLL 14
MONTGOMERY 43
WEBSTER 16
LOWNDES
WASHINGTON 69
CHOCTAW 15
OKTIBBEHA 56
60
HUM. 22
HOLMES 24
ATTALA 37
WINSTON 36
NOXUBEE 18
SHARKEY 13
ISSAQUENA 12
YAZOO 40
MADISON 35
LEAKE 18
NESHOBA 30
KEMPER 16
WARREN 57
HINDS 64
RANKIN 28
SCOTT 32
NEWTON 19
LAUDERDALE 67
SMITH 13
JASPER 12
CLARKE 18
CLAIBORNE 26
COPIAH 35
SIMPSON 15
JEFFERSON 14
LINCOLN 41
LAWRENCE 11
JEFF DAVIS 13
COVINGTON 12
JONES 51
WAYNE 26
ADAMS 53
FRANKLIN 35
MARION 33
LAMAR 2
FORREST 78
PERRY 10
GREENE 12
WILKINSON 15
AMITE 14
PIKE 38
WALTHALL 13
PEARL RIVER 38
STONE 37
GEORGE 10
HANCOCK 57
HARRISON 83
JACKSON 71

FIGURE I

PROPORTION OF POPULATION URBAN, 1970

1940 was a population benchmark for Mississippi in several respects. It marked the State's population peak prior to 1970 (Table 2). The color ratio was almost equal that year. Furthermore it was the peak rural population size. Only since 1940 have rural population trends been the inverse of urban trends. Prior to 1940 rural growth accompanied urban growth excepting the decade 1910-1920, and increased substantially as part of the escape-to-the-land trend during the Great Depression.[7] In 1940 the population of only twelve towns in Mississippi exceeded 10,000 and Jackson, the largest of these, had a population of only 62,000.[8]

Table 3, 4, and 5 show the distribution of the State's population by residential areas for 1960 and 1970. The State's rural population decreased both in absolute number (-9.4%) and as a percentage of the total population (from 62.3% to 55.5% of the population during 1960-1970). Rural places of 1,000-2,000 actually increased (4.4%), while the open country population (described in the census category "other rural") decreased by 11%.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF INHABITANTS, 1960 AND 1970, PERCENTAGE CHANGE, AND PROPORTION OF TOTAL POPULATION, 1960 AND 1970

	Number*			Proportion of Total	
AREA	1960	1970	Percentage	1960	1970
Urban	821	987	+20.2%	37.7%	44.5%
Places of 10,000 +	144	154	+6.6%	17.6%	15.6%
25,000 - 100,000	257	291	+13.1%	31.3%	29.5%
2,000 - 25,000	416	517	+24.3%	50.7%	52.4%
Other Urban	3	25	+707.8%	0.4%	2.5%
Rural	1,357	1,230	-9.4%	62.3%	55.5%

* Thousands

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN POPULATION, BY AREA
MISSISSIPPI, 1960 - 1970

	Number*	Percent Change
The State	2,217	1.8
Urban Total	987	20.2
Urbanized Areas	321	117.4
Central Cities	243	68.4
Urban Fringe	77	2,429.3
Other Urban	666	-1.1
Places of 10,000 or more	434	1.7
Places of 2,500 to 10,000	232	-5.9
Rural Total	1,230	-9.4
Places of 1,000 to 2,500	114	4.4
Other rural	1,114	-10.6
Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas		
Biloxi-Gulfport	135	12.6
Jackson	259	17.0
Urbanized Areas		
Biloxi-Gulfport	122	--
Jackson	259	29.9
Memphis, Tennessee - Miss.	664	21.9

*Thousands

Source: Mississippi Business Review, (March, 1975).

Mississippi's 1970 SMSA's experienced rapid growth during the 1960s (110.4%), increasing from 8.6% of the State's population in 1960 to 17.7% in 1970. While the central cities of Mississippi's SMSA's grew by 68.4%, they declined in terms of proportion of the total population (from 77.2% in 1960 to 61.8% in 1970). However. areas outside of the central cities increased from 22.8% of the population in 1960 to 38.2% in 1970.

Even with the metropolitan population approaching one-fifth of the total in 1970 (with Jackson containing one out of five urban Mississippians) the State's population remained much more dispersed than the national average. Some 69% of the U.S. population in 1970 resided in a metropolitan area, considerably more than the Mississippi population.

Perhaps as much as anything this differential shows the salubriously small size of Mississippi's urban centers which have not become sufficiently populated to be included in the SMSA concept.

The Biloxi-Gulfport area did not become a SMSA until 1970, while Jackson has been a SMSA since the concept first appeared in decennial census reports in 1950. Subsequent to 1970 the Pascagoula-Moss Point SMSA (Jackson County) was established.

TABLE 5

METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI, 1960 - 1970

AREA	Number 1960	Number 1970	Percentage Change	Proporation of Total 1960	Proporation of Total 1970
SMSAs[1] (metro	187	393	+110.4%	8.6%	17.7%
Central Cities	144	243	+68.4%	77.2%	61.8%
Suburbs[2]	43	150	+252.5%	22.8%	38.2%
NonMetro	1,991	1,823	-8.4%	91.4%	82.3%

[1] Biloxi-Gulfport, Jackson, Memphis (Mississippi portion).

[2] Population of Hinds, Rankin, Harrison, and DeSoto Counties not in legal boundaries of Biloxi, Gulfport, Jackson, or Memphis.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

During 1970-1976 (as discussed infra) there was a turnaround from nonmetropolitan population loss during the 1960s to population gain during the 1970s. While the nonmetropolitan population continued to increase, the rate of increase was much lower than in the 1960s.

Changing Composition of the Rural Population

In 1950 "fifty percent of all Mississippian's were farmers and their families."[9] Although, the shift out of agriculture as the predominant occupation was not accompanied by a "corresponding growth in urbanization," it was doubtless a factor in the state's urbanization. Even so, it may be said that Mississippi, "contrasted with certain other sections of the nation, is a state of towns and small cities and a relatively large nonfarm, open-country population."[10] Kaufman and Thomas note that this decentralized pattern of settlement has resulted in a rapid growth of "...open country residents, and the new homes of many of them dot the countryside. The decentralized pattern is also seen in the growth of small towns. In Mississippi...incorporated places as small as 500 to 1,000 have been more likely to grow than to decline."[11]

Growth of the rural nonfarm population incorporates several types of societal changes:

1. Some of the farm loss and rural non-farm increase reflects a change of occupation rather than of residence.

2. Rural nonfarm population must also be seen as containing a component of urban spill or overspread. The latter component reflects a pattern of continuing migration toward areas of urban concentration, and, as well, reflects in some instances a decentralization of central urban centers.

3. Rural renascence in the form of a conscious urban-to-rural movement.

4. The changing pattern reflects a trend toward mixing farm and off-farm occupations and residence. Farmers do not necessarily live on farms; the majority of the employed persons living on farms work at nonfarm occupations

The changes are of considerable social and political impact: Bryant has put some of these changes into perspective:

> ...the interdependence of town and county has become more than a symbiosis of industries; it has penetrated the household unit and individual breadwinners. The days of a clearly defined farm bloc as well as the community-bounded rural way of life may be over. Industrial interdependence has established farm-to-factory commuting and urban types of conveniences for the rural Mississippian. If these kinds of occupational and residence patterns continue... Mississippi may in the future be able to avoid dense urban concentrations which characterize so much of the nation.[12]

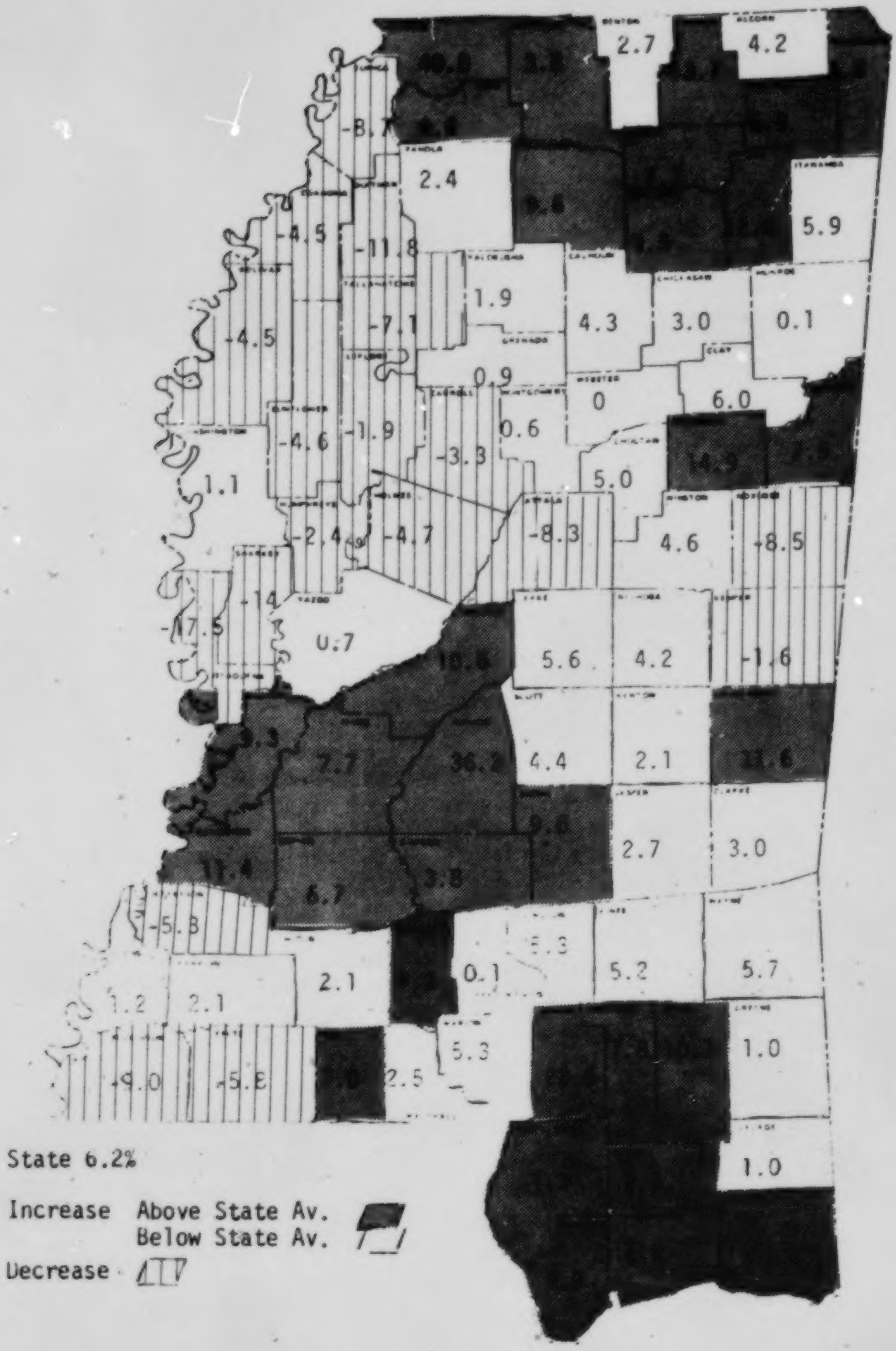
Mississippi, which has a total of 24 urban places of over 100,000 population and 59 towns of 2,500-10,000 size, seems to be developing a dispersed urban growth, a trend which is hypothesized as preferable to expanding supercities for future population distribution. In an era of automobile transportation and a constantly expanding highway system, population can be more dispersed residentially but more centrally employed than in the past. Commuting can be substituted for migration and small cities can have industrial growth in their own right.[13]

Regional Differences

Regionally, the Mississippi Delta has been the area of greatest population loss. The predominant pattern in the northeast has been for little change or only moderate loss.[14] Extensive growth has oc-

FIGURE 2

PERCENT CHANGE, POPULATION, 1970-1976



2.7
4.2
-8.7
2.4
5.9
-4.5
-11.8
1.9
4.3
3.0
0.1
-4.5
-7.1
0.9
0
6.0
-4.6
-1.9
-3.3
0.6
1.1
5.0
14.9
-2.4
-4.7
-8.3
4.6
-8.5
-14
-17.5
0.7
10.6
5.6
4.2
-1.6
7.7
36.2
4.4
2.1
11.4
2.7
3.0
6.7
3.8
-5.8
5.3
5.2
5.7
0.1
1.2
2.1
2.1
1.0
5.3
-9.0
-5.8
2.5
1.0
State 6.2%
Increase Above State Av.
Below State Av.
Decrease

curred in the whole southeast corner of the state. A growth band traverses the middle of the state from Vicksburg on the west to Meridian on the eastern boundary. Growth of Grenada County and DeSoto County have been explained in terms of "the process of becoming a new mode of population growth providing urban and industrial services to both rural Delta and rural hill hinterlands" for the former and proximity to Memphis for the latter.[15]

Recent County Change

During 1970-1976 the Mississippi population increased by 137,000 (6.2%). This change involved a natural increase of 138,000 (284,000 births, 146,000 deaths) and a net migration loss of 1,000 persons. Eighteen Mississippi counties enjoyed a decrease in population during 1970-1976. Population loss blanketed most of the Delta, with very small increases in Washington and Yazoo Counties. Thirty-one counties were beset with increases above the state average of 6.2%. Major population increases occurred in DeSoto (40.8%), Rankin (36.3%), and Jackson Counties (23.1%). These three counties were also the fastest growing counties during 1960-1970, increasingly 50.2%, 28%, and 58.5% respectively.[16]

Areas with increases above the state average during 1970-1976 comprise three clusters: Ten counties in the northern section, eight counties in the southwest, and an eight county grouping of counties contiguous to the Jackson SMSA, plus Oktibbeha, Lowndes, Lauderdale, Lawrence, and Pike Counties (Figure 2).

When the longitudinal pattern of population change by county is examined, it reveals that most of the Delta counties enjoyed loss during the sixties as well as during 1970-1976, although several Delta counties underwent a reversal from loss in the 1960s to population gain during 1970-1976. These were Panola, Washington, Yazoo, and Madison (where the increase, 10.6%, was rather severe).

Twenty-three counties in Mississippi were 100% rural in 1970. Of these, some sixteen lost population during the 1960s. Each of Mississippi's seven totally rural counties (Perry, Greene, George, Lawrence, Covington, Choctaw, Tishomingo) which increased in population during the 1960s also increased during 1970-1976.

Of the wholly rural counties which lost population in the 1960s (Walthall, Amite, Wilkinson, Franklin, Jefferson, Jefferson Davis, Smith, Jasper, Issaquena, Kemper, Sharkey, Carroll, Webster, Calhoun, Benton, and Tunica), eight (Walthall, Jefferson Davis, Franklin, Smith, Jasper, Calhoun, Webster, and Benton) were turnaround counties from loss during the 1960s to gain or stability during 1970-1976.

Of Mississippi's eighty-two counties, sixteen lost population during both the 1960-1970 and 1970-1976 periods, thirty-six gained population during both periods, and the other thirty were turnaround counties from loss during the 1960s to population gain during 1970-1976. Whereas twenty Mississippi counties gained population during 1950-1960, and thirty-three gained during 1960-1970, during the time interim 1970-1976, some two-thirds (52 counties, or 68%) gained population.[17]

These population changes are in alignment with national patterns. While the dominant trend in population distribution in the United States during the twentieth century has been an increase in the urban and a decrease in rural population due to the flow of rural-to-urban migrants, since 1970 the rural to urban population change may have halted or even reversed.[18] This does not suggest a total population loss to metropolitan areas or a delcine in urbanization.[19] Furthermore, small SMSAs are continuing to gain.[20] However, it appears that the decentralization trend is not confined to metropolitan sprawl, but affects nonmetropolitan counites well removed from direct metropolitan influence.[21]

As discussed infra, these trends may indicate an increased salience of other variables than economic determinants.[22] The "changing distribution of perceptions of meaningful economic opportunities in rural areas by urban residents is an important factor in understanding post-1970 nonmetropolitan population-growth"[23] along with structural changes in social and economic institutions "which permit the relocation of individuals, industry, and business to places increasingly remote from centers of industrial and commercial activity."[24]

Perceptually, "negative factors at areas of origin such as crime, pollution, congestion, etc. might now be seen as more undesirable than in earlier years. And/or the positive factors at the area of destination such as open space, clean air, and lower crime rates might now be valued more highly than previously"[25] and migrants may be willing to trade-off certain disadvantages such as "lower paying jobs or fewer or less desirable community services might be balanced off against advantages of living in the country."[26] Accordingly, growth in the general affluence to the point where some persons are able to better satisfy their residential preferences may be an important facilitator of nonmetropolitan growth. DeJong and Sell suggest "it may be only in recent times that constraints have been reduced enough so that those preferences can be obtained by some people."[27]

POPULATION PROCESSES

Natality and Mortality: The Vital Processes

Mortality

Death rates by age in Mississippi in 1970 ranged from 171.5 deaths per 1,000 males age 65 and over to less than one death per 1,000 males age 5-14 and per 1,000 females age 5-24. The death rate for females is lower than the rate for males at each age level. The discrepancy of 7.2 (35.4 for males, 28.2 for females) for persons under one year of age is greater than at any age level under until about age 50. It thereafter increases to a maximum discrepancy of 32.1 for ages 75-84, and decreases thereafter (Table 6).

TABLE 6

DEATH RATES, BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	Total		White		Nonwhite	
AGE	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	12.4	8.8	11.6	8.0	13.8	10.0
Under 1	35.4	28.2	21.6	18.9	51.8	38.8
1-4	1.5	1.3	0.9	0.8	2.2	1.8
5-9	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6
10-14	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.4	0.8	0.6
15-24	2.5	0.8	2.1	0.7	3.0	0.9
25-34	3.4	1.5	2.4	0.9	6.1	2.8
35-55	5.6	3.2	4.3	1.7	9.2	6.4
45-54	12.4	5.7	10.9	4.2	16.2	9.2
55-64	25.2	11.7	23.6	8.8	28.4	17.5
65-74	50.2	27.2	49.8	23.3	50.8	34.2
75-84	101.3	69.2	101.4	68.1	101.0	71.5
85 and over	181.2	171.5	187.6	178.9	172.9	158.8
Median Age[2]	66.3	72.3	67.1	75.5	65.0	67.6

[1] Deaths per 1,000 population in specified group.

[2] Calculated using five-year age groups for ages 15-84.

Source: Mississippi State Board of Health.

Epidemological Changes in Mississippi

Heart disease is now the major cause of death of both white and nonwhite Mississippians[28] (Appendix B, Table 23). Heart disease became the leading cause of death in 1925, replacing tuberculosis. Whereas tuberculosis was the cause of 2,490 deaths in Mississippi in 1914 the number of deaths from tuberculosis decreased to 1,855 in 1925 (second leading cause) and 1,750 in 1930 (third leading cause). By 1940, tuberculosis ranked behind heart disease, nephritis, intercranial lesions of vascular origin, and cancer as a leading cause of death.[29] The 558 deaths from tuberculosis recorded in 1958 decreased to 40 deaths in 1970.

The decline in pneumonia has been similarly striking although somewhat less dramatic. Pneumonia was the second leading cause of death in 1914 and 1920, dropped to fourth by 1925, and fifth in 1930 and in 1940 (at which time the number of deaths from penumonia and tuberculosis were about the same). In 1950 penumonia and influenza together were the sixth leading cause of death in Mississippi, which position was maintained in 1960 and 1970. In 1970, heart disease, crebrovascular disease, cancer, and accidents each accounted for 1,000 or more deaths (Table 7).

TABLE 7

DEATHS AND PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS BY RACES FROM TEN LEADING CAUSES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	Number			Percent		
Causes	Total	White	Non White	Total	White	Non White
Total of ten leading causes	18,538	11,393	7,145	79.5	83.6	73.8
1. Heart diseases	7,656	5,027	2,629	32.8	36.9	27.2
1. Malignant neoplasms	3,313	2,171	1,142	14.2	15.9	11 8
3. Cerebrovascular disease	2,989	1,682	1,307	12.8	12.3	13.5
4. Accidents	1,827	1,113	714	7.8	8.2	7.4
5. Certain causes of mortality in early infancy	717	303	414	3.1	2.2	4.3
6. Influcenza and pneumonia	716	365	351	3.1	2.7	3.6
7. Diabetes mellitus	461	232	229	2.0	1.7	2.4
8. Homicide	318	80	238	1.4	0.6	2.4
9. Arteriosclerosis	274	195	79	1.2	1.4	0.8
10. Chronic and unqualified bronchitis, emphysema, asthma	267	225	42	1.1	1.6	0.4

Source: Vital Statistics Mississippi, 1970, p. xxxv.

TABLE 8

TOTAL DEATH AND MATERNAL DEATH RATE, SPECIFIED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI, 1913-1977

	Death Rate[1]			Maternal Death Rate[2]		
	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
1913	11.4	9.3	13.0	11	7	15
1920	12.3	9.3	15.1	9	6	13
1930	11.9	9.0	14.8	10	7	13

1940	10.6	8.6	12.6	6	5	7
1950	9.4	8.0	11.2	3	2	4
1960	10.0	8.9	11.4	1	.3	2
1970	10.5	9.8	11.8	.2	.2	1
1975	9.7	NA	NA	.1	0	.3
1979	9.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Vital Statistics Mississippi 1975 (Jackson: Mississippi State Board of Health, 1975), pp. 99-101; Monthly Vital Statistics Report, DHEW Publication No. (PHS) 79-1120, Vol. 26, No. 13 (December 7, 1978), p. 18.

[1] Deaths per 1,000 population.

[2] Deaths resulting from pregnancy, childbirth, puerperium per 10,000 live births.

The death rate from heart disease in Mississippi in 1970 was 345.3 (Table 9). Cancer and cerebrovascular disease each accounted for more than 10% of the total deaths in Mississippi in 1970. The ten leading causes of death in Mississippi in 1970 accounted for 80% of all deaths.

TABLE 9

DEATHS AND DEATH FOR SPECIFIED CAUSE, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

Cause	Number			Rate[1]		
	Total	White	Non White	Total	White	Non White
Tuberculosis	40	16	24	1.8	1.1	2.9
Malignant neoplasms	3,313	2,171	1,142	149.4	155.8	138.6
Diabetes mellitus	461	232	229	20.8	16.6	27.8
Heart diseases	7,656	5,027	2,629	345.3	360.8	319.2
Hypertension	168	53	115	7.6	3.8	14.0
Cerebrovascular disease	2,989	1,682	1,307	134.8	120.7	158.7
Arteriosclerosis	274	195	79	12.4	14.0	9.6
Influenza and penumonia	716	365	351	32.3	26.2	42.6
Bronchitis, emphysema, asthma,	267	225	42	12.0	16.1	5.1
Cirrhosis of liver	135	100	35	6.1	7.2	4.2
Nephritis and hephrosis	146	53	93	6.6	3.8	11.3
Infections of kidney	139	73	66	6.3	5.2	8.0
Maternal causes	34	5	29	7.1	2.0	12.5
Congenital anomalies	207	115	92	9.3	8.2	11.2
Certain cause of mortality in early infancy	717	303	414	14.9	12.2	17.8

Accidents	1,827	1,113	714	82.4	79.9	86.0
Motor vehicle accidents	937	618	319	42.3	44.4	38.0
Suicide	151	132	19	6.8	9.5	2.0
Homicide	318	80	238	14.3	5.7	28.9
Unknown	1,795	565	1,230	81.0	40.6	149.3

---

[1] Deaths per 100,000 population, except maternal deaths are per 10,000 live births and deaths from certain causes of mortality in early infancy are per 1,000 live births.

Source: Vital Statistics Mississippi, 1970, p. 104.

The total number of deaths in Mississippi in 1930 (24,098) was about the same as in 1970 (23.305). Heart disease (2,278), nephritis (1,917), tuberculosis (1,643), apoplexy (1,442), pneumonia (1,362) and cancer (1,053) accounted for 1,000 or more deaths each in 1930.

The improvements in medical techniquie, knowledge, and facilities, improved hygiene and sanitation, and the general improvement in levels-of-living are reflected in the decline in the death rate (Table 8). These changes are particularly noticeable in the decreased death rate of mothers (Table 8) and infants (Table 10).

TABLE 10

INFANT AND NEONATAL DEATH RATES, BY RACE, SPECIFIED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI

	Infant Death Rate[1]			Neonatal Death Rate[2]		
Year	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite
1920	80.0	59.9	101.1	NA	NA	NA
1930	68.3	51.0	84.5	35.3	30.8	39.4
1940	54.5	46.4	60.9	30.7	29.4	31.7
1950	36.4	28.1	42.6	22.4	20.6	23.8
1960	41.5	26.2	54.4	25.3	20.2	29.6
1970	29.1	19.3	39.7	20.3	15.7	25.2
1975	22.5	15.8	29.8	15.6	11.4	20.2
1976	20.8	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1977	14.5	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

[1] Deaths of infants under one year of age per 1,000 live births.

[2] Deaths of infants under 28 days old per 1,000 live births.

Source: Same as Table 9, pp. 103, 106, 109.

The proportion of deaths which occur to children under five years of age as a percentage of total deaths is a useful index for measuring the magnitude of mortality changes over time.[30] The proportion of total deaths which occurred to children under five in Mississippi decreased from 19% in 1930 to 10% in 1970. The proportional mortality of persons age 65 or beyond increased from 37.8% in 1950 to 46.7% in 1970.

Life Expectancy in Mississippi

Average life expectancy of a population is derived from a life table. A life table is an hypothetical construct showing what would happen to a cohort of 100,000 births if the age-specific mortality rates were applicable throughout the life span of that cohort. Table 11 shows the Mississippi life table according age-specific mortality for 1969-1971.

Column 2 shows the probability of dying for the cohort of 100,000 according to 1969-1971 age specific mortality rates in Mississippi. Application of this percentage to the number alive at the beginning of the interval (column 3) gives the number who would die during that interval (column 4). For example, 174 of the cohort of 100,000 would die between their first and second birthday. Subtraction of this number (column 4) from column 3 gives the number living at the beginning of the succeeding interval (next line in column 3).

Column 5 shows the number of years that those surviving to any age interval would live during that interval,[31] while column 6 is the total of that and each successive interval. Column 7 is the result of dividing column 2 (persons) into 6 (cumulative years) to obtain the arithmetical average of years of life remaining. Average expectancy in Mississippi in 1970 was 69.25 years at age one. For persons age 50, average life expectancy was 25.24 years additional. The median (when number of years lived equals average number of years remaining at that age) between years lived and years expected occurs about age 37.

Comparative Life Expectancy and Surviorship

Life expectancy in Mississippi has increased from 56 years at birth in 1930 to 68 years in 1970. The gap between life expectancy of males (which is less than that of females) increased from less than two years in 1930 to over eight years in 1970 (Table 12).

TABLE 11

LIFE TABLE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969-1971

Age Interval	Probability of dying before next interval	Number alive at beginning of interval	Number dying during interval	Cumulative years lived during interval by all those alive at beginning of interval	Total years lived in this and subsequent intervals by those beginning interval	Average years of life remaining to those beginning interval
0-1	.02797	100,000	2,797	97,975	6,829,512	68.30
1-2	.00179	97,203	174	97,100	6,731,537	69.25
2-5	.00279	97,029	271	290,581	6,634,437	68.38
5-10	.00294	96,758	284	482,996	6,343,856	65.56
10-15	.00304	96,474	293	481,720	5,860,860	60.75
15-20	.00707	96,181	680	479,343	5,379,140	55.93
20-25	.01000	95,501	955	475,203	4,899,797	51.31
25-30	.01154	94,546	1,091	470,044	4,424,594	46.80
30-35	.01233	93,455	1,152	464,498	3,954,550	42.32
35-40	.01721	92,303	1,588	457,782	3,490,052	37.81
40-45	.02525	90,715	2,290	448,197	3,032,270	33.43
45-50	.03676	88,425	3,250	434,457	2,584,073	29.22
50-55	.05263	85,175	4,483	415,193	2,149,616	25.24
55-60	.07158	80,692	5,776	389,693	1,734,423	21.49
60-65	.10292	74,916	7,710	356 106	1,344,730	17.95
65-70	.14319	67,206	9,623	312,894	988,624	14.71
70-75	.21073	57,583	12,134	258,424	675,730	11.73
75-80	.30091	45,449	13,676	193,285	417,306	9.18
80-85	.41660	31,773	13,237	125,126	224,021	7.05
85-90	.57025	18,536	10,570	64,642	98,895	5.34
90-95	.69002	7,966	5,497	24,270	34 253	4.30
95-100	.74667	2,469	1,844	8,843	9,983	4.04
100-105	.29104	625	182	1,140	1 140	1 82
105 and over		443				

Source: _Abridged Life Tables for Mississippi 1969-1971_ (Jackson: Statistical Services Unit, Mississippi State Board of Health, 1974), p. 13.

TABLE 12

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT BIRTH, SPECIFIED YEARS, MISSISSIPPI AND THE UNITED STATES

	Total			White			Nonwhite		
r	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
ssissippi									
29-1931	56.04	NA	NA	61.78	NA	NA	51.26	NA	NA
39-1941	60.71	59.27	62.13	65.23	62.83	67.56	56.41	55 76	57.14
9-1951	65.84	63.84	68.02	69.64	66.71	72.95	61.48	60.44	62.57
59-1961	67.98	64.96	71.19	71.11	67.50	75.11	63.93	61.58	66.26
59-1971	68.30	64.24	72.63	70.66	66.26	75.52	64.20	60.37	67.92
ted States									
29-1931	NA	NA	NA	NA	59.12	62.67	NA	NA	NA
39-1941	63.62	61.60	65.89	64.92	62.81	67.29	NA	52.33	55.51
9-1951	68.07	65.47	70.96	69.02	66.31	72.03	60.73	58.91	62.70
59-1961	69.89	66.80	73.24	70.73	67.55	74.19	63 91	61.48	66.47
70	70.9	67.1	74.8	71.7	68.0	75.6	65.3	61 3	69.4

rce: Same as Table 11, p. 4.

Table 13 shows survivorship to specific ages among categories of population according to age specific mortality rates during 1969-1971. According to age specific mortality rates in Mississippi during 1969-1971, a total of 97,203 of each 100,000 births would survive their first year, 96,417 (96.5%) would survive to age 10, 95,501 (95%) would survive to age 20, 85% to age 50, 58% to age 70, and 8% to age 90.

TABLE 13

SURVIVORSHIP TO SPECIFIC AGES, SPECIFIC CATEGORIES OF POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI LIFE TABLE, 1969-1971

opulation ategory	Survivorship to Specified Ages 1	10	20	50	70	90
otal	97,203	96,474	45,501	85,175	57,583	7,966
Male	96,864	96,028	94,679	81,135	47,288	4,496
Female	97,555	96,983	96,354	89,909	68,372	12,278
hite	98,110	97,561	96,634	88,716	62,289	8,528
Male	97,864	97,544	95,510	85,000	50,317	4,630
Female	98,371	97,901	97,399	92,495	75,228	13,762
onwhite	96,240	95,647	94,295	78,286	49,037	6,885
Male	95,786	94,130	93,362	72,791	40,903	4,464
Female	96,705	95,943	95,256	82,981	56,925	9,809

ource: Same as Table 11 , pp. 13-21.

More females (97%) than males (96.9%) would survive until their first birthday. The gap between the number of surviving males and females increases with age. By age 50 the excess of females over male survivors in a cohort of 100,000 each given 1969-1971 age-specific mortality rates would be more than 8,000. By age 70, there would be 47,288 surviving males, contrasted to 68,372 surviving females. Because of differential mortality one might expect the half-century reunion of a graduating class with equal numbers of boys and girls to have more female than male participants, and to have more widows than widowers.

The age discrepancy between male-female survivorship at age 50 is greater among whites than nonwhites. Some 92% of the white females, 85% of the white males, would survive to age 50. By comparison, 83% of the nonwhite females and 73% of the nonwhite males would survive to age 50.

Natality

During 1913-1919 the Mississippi birth rate fluctuated around 20, with the nonwhite rate, reaching lows that were not equalled by Mississippi whites until the 1970s.[32] In fact, the white birth rate was higher than the black rate until 1925, with the rates remaining about equal until the early 1930s. While the white rate stabilized in the low 20s in the 1930s, the nonwhite birthrate climbed to the high 20s, remained in the high 20s or low 30s in during the 1940s, and the high 30s in the 1950s. While the nonwhite birthrate has subsequently decreased, it still exceeds that of whites at any time during this century.

The white birth rate reached a high of 27.5 in 1947, dropped below 20 in 1963 and reached its most desirable level low of 15.7 in 1968. Although the white birth rate has shown some incipient danger of moving upward, it had not gone beyond the 18.1 as of 1975.

TABLE 14

BIRTH RATES, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, SPECIFIED YEARS

Year	Total	White	Nonwhite
1913	21.9	26.6	18.2
1920	24.4	26.3	22.7
1930	23.8	23.2	24.0
1940	24.0	20.9	27.3
1943	28.3	25.2	31.6
1950	29.6	22.9	37.6
1960	27.2	21.6	34.8
1970	21.7	17.9	28.2

1975	18.5	NA	NA
1976	18.1	NA	NA
1977	19.0	NA	NA

Source: Same as Table 9, pp. 97, 98, 99.

Tables 15-21, Chapter Two, provide data on current natality in Mississippi for 1976. There was almost as many nonwhite as white births in Mississippi during 1976. Ages 20-29 were those of the largest amount of deliveries, indicating a tremendous need to cease and desist within this particular age category if annual fertility in Mississippi is to be reduced significantly. Nonwhite births were predominant among younger adolescents as well as among female persons age 15-19. There were more white births to conceivers age 20-34, particularly ages 25-34. Nonwhite births again became predominant for conceivers above age 35. Nonwhites outdo whites by nearly ten to one in terms of births to violators of the state criminal statutes on reproductive behavior in 97-29-1 of the Mississippi Code. The Center for Disease Control in Atlanta has estimated that at least 10,000 "excess births" occurred in Mississippi in 1975 (Table 15).

TABLE 15

EXCESS BIRTHS ABOVE DESIRED LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

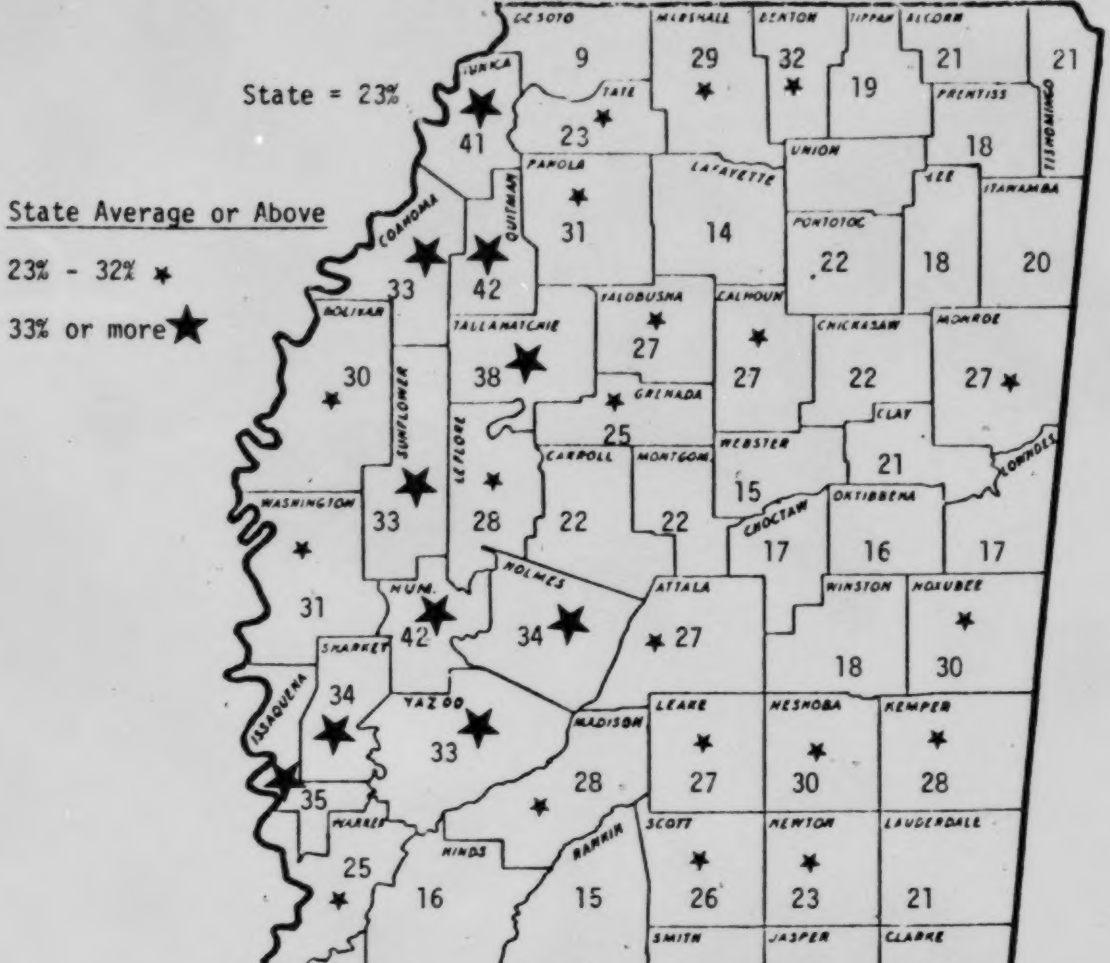
Race	Females Under 15	Females 15-19	Marital Births Order 4 or More	Total Excess
White	57	2,597	249	2,903
Nonwhite	431	5,218	1,618	7,267
Total	488	7,815	1,867	10,170

Source: Actual Versus Desired Fertility: Estimates for Counties and Other Local Areas (Atlanta: U.S. Dept. of HEW, Public Health Service, Center for Disease Control, Bureau of Epidemology, Family Planning Evaluation Division), p.8.

Excess births comprised nearly one quarter of all Mississippi births in 1975, about one-seventh of all white births, and over one-third of all black births. Some 88% of the excess births to children under fifteen were achieved by nonwhites, compared to 67% for females age 15-19. Fully 87% of the "excess" marital births (marital births of order four or more) were nonwhite, as was 71% of the total identified excess births.[33]

FIGURE 3

PERCENT OF BIRTHS "EXCESS BIRTHS, MISSISSIPPI, 1975


State = 23%
State Average or Above
23% - 32% ★
33% or more ★
DE SOTO 9
MARSHALL 29 ★
BENTON 32 ★
TIPPAH 19
ALCORN 21
TISHOMINGO 21
TUNICA ★ 41
TATE 23 ★
PRENTISS 18
UNION
PANOLA ★ 31
LAFAYETTE 14
LEE 18
ITAWAMBA 20
PONTOTOC 22
COAHOMA ★ 33
QUITMAN ★ 42
BOLIVAR 30 ★
TALLAHATCHIE 38 ★
YALOBUSHA ★ 27
CALHOUN ★ 27
CHICKASAW 22
MONROE 27 ★
GRENADA ★ 25
CLAY 21
SUNFLOWER ★ 33
LEFLORE ★ 28
CARROLL 22
MONTGOMERY 22
WEBSTER 15
LOWNDES 17
WASHINGTON ★ 31
CHOCTAW 17
OKTIBBEHA 16
HUM. ★ 42
HOLMES 34 ★
ATTALA ★ 27
WINSTON 18
NOXUBEE ★ 30
SHARKEY 34 ★
ISSAQUENA ★ 35
YAZOO ★ 33
MADISON 28 ★
LEAKE ★ 27
NESHOBA ★ 30
KEMPER ★ 28
WARREN 25 ★
HINDS 16
RANKIN 15
SCOTT ★ 26
NEWTON ★ 23
LAUDERDALE 21
SMITH 22
JASPER ★ 27
CLARKE ★ 26
CLAIBORNE ★ 27
COPIAH ★ 25
SIMPSON ★ 25
JEFFERSON 21
COVINGTON ★ 30
JONES 19
WAYNE ★ 30
LINCOLN ★ 25
LAWRENCE ★ 25
JEFF DAVIS 30 ★
ADAMS ★ 23
FRANKLIN 27 ★
WILKINSON ★ 23
AMITE 23 ★
PIKE 18
WALTHALL
MARION 21
LAMAR ★ 24
FORREST 16
PERRY ★ 25
GREENE ★ 28
PEARL RIVER ★ 23
STONE 20
GEORGE ★ 29
HANCOCK 21
HARRISON 21
JACKSON 22

Source: All births, 1975, State Board of Health. Excess, 1975, Center for Disease Control, Actual Versus Desired Fertility. Estimates for Counties and Other Local Areas, Mississippi 1975 (Atlanta: U.S. Dept of HEW, PHS, Center for Disease Control, Bureau of Epidemiology, Family Planning Divison, 1978). See source for definition of "excess" and estimation proceuure.

Figure 3 shows the percentage of births determined to be "excess" births according to the Family Planning Evaluation Division of the Public Health Service Center for Disease Control. In eleven counties, all of which are in the Delta, one-third or more of the 1975 births were excess. Less than one-fifth of the births were excess in only fourteen counties.

Table 16 shows comparative fertility data for Mississippi and the U.S. based on 1969-1971 averages. Mississippi's overall birth rate during 1969-1971 was considerably worse (higher) than the national figure, although the white birth rate in Mississippi was close to the national norm. Whereas there was an annual average of 85.7 births per 1,000 white females in Mississippi during 1969-1971, the nonwhite average was 148.5. The total fertility rate for whites in Mississippi during 1969-1971 was 2,385, and was 4,142 for nonwhites.

TABLE 16

LIVE BIRTHS, BIRTH RATES, FERTILITY RATE, AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATE, MISSISSIPPI AND UNITED STATES, 1969-71 AVERAGE

	Total		White		Black	
	U.S.	MS.	U.S.	MS.	U.S.	MS.
Live Births	3,629,187	48,239	3,001,541	24,954	560,151	23,054
[1]Birth Rate	17.9	21.8	16.9	17.9	24.8	28.3
[2]Fertility Rate	85.5	107.6	81.6	85.7	112.9	148.5
[3]Total Fertility Rate	2,414	2,987	2,317	2,385	3,032	4,142

[1] Number of births per 1,000 persons per year

[2] Births per 1,000 females age 15-44

[3] Sum of birth rates by age of mother times five.

Source: Ernell Spratley, *Birth and Fertility Rates for States and Metropolitan Areas*. (Hyattsville, MD.: DHEW, Public Health Service, Health Resources Administration, National Center for Health Statistics, 1977), p. 14.

TABLE 17

BIRTH RATES BY BIRTH ORDER[1] AND RACE, ANNUAL AVERAGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969-1971

Birth Order	Total	White	Black
1	40.1	35.7	48.4
2	26.0	24.3	29.0
3	15.1	13.4	18.2
4	8.6	6.5	12.6
5	5.2	3.0	9.4
6	3.5	1.3	7.6
7	2.5	0.7	5.8
8+	6.6	0.8	17.5

---

[1] Number of children born alive to mother.

Source: Same as Table 9, p. 32.

Table 17 shows the live births per 1,000 women age 15-44 for specified age groups. The black rate is higher than the white birth order irrespective of family size. Table 18 shows the total fertility of Mississippi nonwhites to be much greater than the white rate irrespective of age of conceivor.

TABLE 18

TOTAL FERTILITY RATE AND BIRTH RATES BY AGE OF CONCIEVER AT DELIVERY, MISSISSIPPI, ANNUAL AVERAGE, 1969-1971

	Total Fertility	Birth Rates By Age							
	Rate	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49
Total	2,987	2.7	102.0	202.4	152.2	81.5	42.4	13.1	1.2
White	2,385	0.8	72.0	178.5	135.5	59.3	24.5	6.0	0.5
Black	4,142	4.9	140.6	248.8	189.4	130.1	82.8	29.0	2.8

Source: Same as Table 9, p. 18.

National statistical data indicate that elimination of unwanted child bearing among married women would have a substantial effect on population growth rates. It is estimated that less than two-thirds of all births in the United States in 1972 were "wanted" at that time although over 90% became "wanted" because of "wanted later" status. Only about one-third of children who were fifth order or more siblings in 1972 were "wanted then," with an additional one-fourth becoming "wanted later."[34] Since the number of women in the child-bearing ages will increase during 1975-1985 there is an increased danger of population growth even with reduced fertility.[35] Even if the fertility did not exceed replacement level, the population would increase by over one-third before subsiding. This is because growth is built into the age structure as the war babies enter into fecundity.[36]

Marriage

During the 1930s the number of marriages in Mississippi ranged from about 21,500 in 1931 to over 32,000 each in 1936 and 1937. In 1940 there were about 34,000 marriages in Mississippi, and nearly 53,000 in 1949, with the largest number (64,000+) occurring in 1946. During 1950-1958 there were between 50,000 and 59,000 marriages per year in Mississippi, with the period 1953-1957 witnessing over 60,000 nuptials each year. Possibly there was an infusion of sanity thereafter and reason prevailed, because the number of epithalamium ceremonies dropped to 36,000+ in 1958 and improved to a record low of circa 20,500 in 1959. Subsequently, there has been a general but not uniformly consistent progression in the number of marriage ceremonial rituals in Mississippi, crossing 26,000 in number in 1970 and remaining between 26,000 and 29,000 subsequently. Of the 26,300 Mississippi marriages in 1975, about 18,200 were white couples.

Divorce

Mississippi has been able to achieve and maintain a relatively high divorce rate. The number of divorces per 1,000 married women in Mississippi in 1970 (16.6) was slightly higher than that of the South (16.2) as a whole or of the United States (14.9). In 1975 there were 5.2 divorces per 1,000 persons in Mississippi, reflecting a consistent increase since 1960 (Table 19), when there were only 2.4 divorces per 1,000 persons in the state. The Mississippi divorce rate in 1977 (5.3) contrasts to a national rate of 5.0 (Table 19).

TABLE 19

DIVORCES PER 1,000 POPULATION, UNITED STATES, SOUTH, AND MISSISSIPPI, SPECIFIED TIMES

Year	United States	South	Mississippi
1960	2.2	2.8	2.4
1965	2.5	2.4	2.5
1970	3.5	3.3	3.7

1975	4.9	5.5	5.2
1976	5.0	NA	5.3
1977	5.0	NA	5.3

Source: Alexander Augustus Platerowski, Divorce and Divorce Rates, United States (Hyattsville, MD.: DHEW, Public Health Service, National Center for Health Statistics, 1978), pp. 28-29; Monthly Vital Statistics Report (PHS), 79-1120, p.20.

The number of divorces in Mississippi reached 3,000 in 1928, subsequently suffered a decline, and again crossed the 3,000 threshold in 1939. The years 1947 and 1948, with about 9,500 and 7,000 divorces respectively, saw historic peak divorce accomplishments. Thereafter the number of divorces began a gradual but consistent decline to a low of about 4,850 in 1955. Mississippi divorces then begin a climb upward, crossing 6,000 in 1966, pushing above 7,000 in 1967, breaking the 8,000 barrier in 1968, the 10,000 barrier in 1973, pushing beyond 11,000 in 1974, and beyond 12,000 in 1975. Mississippians achieved some 12,828 divorces 1977.[38]

MIGRATION

Population movement is a basic and characteristic feature of American life. About one out of five Americans move annually. While some families and individuals may move repeatedly during an interval of several years, others remain stable for decades or perhaps generations. Even where a parent family unit is spatially stable, the maturity of children and formation of new official domestic relationships and/or entrance into the world of higher education or economic self-sustenance is likely to result in multiple migrations.

Though the process of migration, families, individuals, and other entities (factories, agencies, associations, etc.) make geographic changes, adjustment, and alterations. Areas and communites change in terms of demographic features and socio-eocnomic characteristics as a result of the constant process of in, out, and cross-movement.

There have been several notable historic streams of migration in American history. The continuing westward expansion was the first in time, consolidating the country from Atlantic to Pacific. A second movement was the farm to city movement. The American population, which was circa 5% urban at the time of the first census in 1790, has increased in the proportion of urban population at each succeeding census except that of 1810-1820. Today, the United States population is about three-fourths urban. Mississippi, nearly three-fourths rural as late as 1950, was 55% urban in 1970.

Urbanization following the Great Conflict of 1861-1865 saw initiation of a dramatic of phase of urban movement as urbanization-industrialization helped transform the United States of Lee and Lincoln into an urban-industrial mode. Effects of the process of wholesale out-migration from the agricultural economy and from rural residence is yet visable in the Mississippi countryside.[39]

A third movement, which has accompanied and has been a part of the overall urbanization, has been the out-movement of blacks from the South to the urban-industrial centers in the North and Great Lakes areas, and, more recently, to the West. Participation in each of these three historic migration greats has been part of Mississippi's historic experience: the antebellum in-migration from the colonial South, the movement from open country to urban areas, and the out-movement of blacks.[40]

Migration, either historically or currently, has not been unidirectional. The very existence of a stream in one direction inevitably results in a small return flow to the original area of origin as people retire, retreat, or otherwise return to their own or parental home. At the same time, a stream of migration results in cross currents of migration. For example, the process or urbanization is taking place simultaneously with decentralization, with a consequence of urban spread or "urban spill-over" into previously rural areas.

This section will look briefly at magnitude, direction, and effect of migration of the Mississippi population.

Net Migration Rates

It was noted earlier that Mississippi, despite its high birth rate, suffered only a slight population increase between 1940 and 1970 thanks to net out-movement of population. The net out-migration from Mississippi during 1960-1970 exceeded 250,000 persons. There was a slight net increase of whites in the population exchange, but an overwhelming loss of nonwhites. White migration seems to have reversed from a net outflow during the latter half of the 1950s. The components of change for Mississippi in the 1970s indicate a probable lessening if not a reversal in direction of black movement.

Age groups with the highest net out-migration during 1960-1970 were ages 20-24 and 25-29.[41] This was true for both races. Whites age 20-24 showed out-migration rates of 4.7% and 14.1% respectively. Rates were higher for white males than for females. The net outflow of nonwhites amounted to more than 50% of each of the above groups. Table 20 portrays the age specific net migration rate of the population of Mississippi during 1960-1970.

TABLE 20

NET MIGRATION AND NET MIGRATION RATES, BY SEX AGE, AND COLOR, 1960-1970

		TOTAL			WHITE			NEGRO AND OTHER RACES	
AGE IN 1970	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
					NET MIGRATION				
ALL AGES	-268,767	-132,244	-136,523	8,810	1,477	7,333	-277,577	-133,721	-143,856
0-4	-11,420	-5,699	-5,721	-641	-317	-324	-10,779	-5,382	-5,397
5-9	-32,861	-16,472	-16,389	773	410	363	-33,634	-16,882	-16,752
10-14	-30,092	-14,185	-15,907	4,465	2,316	2,149	-34,557	-16,501	-18,056
15-19	-29,671	-14,686	-14,985	5,110	2,959	2,151	-34,781	-17,645	-17,136
20-24	-64,181	-34,270	-29,911	-6,048	-3,620	-2,428	-58,133	-30,653	-27,483
25-29	-64,767	-35,016	-29,691	-14,373	-9,758	-4,615	-50,334	-25,258	-25,076
30-34	-20,582	-10,851	-9,731	463	-538	1,001	-21,045	-10,313	-10,732
35-39	-6,022	-2,411	-3,611	3,179	1,542	1,637	-9,201	-3,953	-5,248
40-44	-2,422	-164	-2,258	3,399	2,093	1,306	-5,821	-2,257	-3,564
45-49	-2,618	-478	-2,140	2,008	1,178	830	-4,626	-1,656	-2,970
50-54	-1,813	-58	-1,755	1,969	1,052	917	-3,782	-1,110	-2,672
55-59	-2,084	-444	-1,640	1,919	909	1,010	-4,003	-1,353	-2,650
60-64	1,274	1,164	110	3,048	1,459	1,589	-1,774	-295	-1,479
65-69	2,753	1,885	868	2,738	1,386	1,350	15	497	-482
70-74	530	1,033	-503	1,299	721	578	-769	312	-1,081
75 AND OVER	-4,851	-1,592	-3,255	-498	-317	-161	-4,353	-1,275	-3,078
					MIGRATION RATE				
ALL AGES	-10.8	-11.0	-10.7	.6	.2	1.0	-25.2	-25.5	-24.9
0-4	-5.2	-5.1	-5.2	-.6	-.5	-.6	-9.9	-10.0	-9.9
5-9	-12.1	-12.0	-12.2	.6	.6	.6	-23.6	-23.7	-23.6
10-14	-10.6	-9.9	-11.4	3.4	3.4	3.3	-23.0	-22.0	-24.0
15-19	-11.3	-11.1	-11.5	4.0	4.6	3.5	-25.6	-25.9	-25.3
20-24	-27.0	-28.7	-25.3	-4.9	-5.7	-4.0	-51.0	-54.6	-47.5
25-29	-33.5	-36.2	-30.9	-13.6	-17.7	-9.1	-57.6	-60.4	-55.1
30-34	-15.2	-18.6	-14.0	.6	-1.3	2.5	-38.9	-41.9	-36.4
35-39	-5.3	-4.5	-5.9	4.3	4.2	4.3	-22.9	-23.1	-22.8
40-44	-2.1	-.3	-3.6	4.3	5.5	3.2	-15.0	-14.1	-15.7
45-49	-2.3	-.9	-3.5	2.6	3.1	2.1	-12.7	-10.8	-14.0
50-54	-1.7	-.1	-3.0	2.7	3.0	2.4	-10.3	-7.0	-12.8
55-59	-1.9	-.9	-2.9	2.8	2.7	2.8	-10.7	-8.1	-12.9
60-64	1.3	2.6	.2	4.9	5.0	4.8	-5.2	-1.9	-7.8
65-69	3.4	5.3	1.9	5.6	6.4	4.9		3.7	-2.7
70-74	.9	4.2	-1.5	3.5	4.6	2.7	-3.6	3.5	-8.9
75 AND OVER	-5.7	-4.7	-6.5	-.9	-1.5	-.6	-13.7	-9.3	-16.9

Source: Gladys K. Bowles, Calvin L. Beale, and Everett S. Lee, Net Migration of the Population, 1960-70 By Age, Sex, and Color, Part 4, East South Central States (Athens: University of Georgia Printing Department, 1975), p. 92.

Net Migration By County 1960-1970

County data for 1960-1970 show that net migration of both races ranged from a net in-migration of 19,000 in Jackson County to a deficit of over 20,000 in Washington County. Only ten counties suffered an increase. Some 72 counties enjoyed population decline through migration. No less than 47 counties achieved out-migration rates which exceeded the overall state rate. Net migration rates ranged from a high of 27.3% in Jackson County to -40.7% in Tunica County.

While there was an overall in-migration of whites, 54 counties had net white out-movement. White net migration rates ranged from over 100% in DeSoto County to 21.4% in Quitman county. "It is obvious from an examination of the data that an unusually large amount of white in-migration in a few counties offset the net in-migration, albeit small, for whites in the State as a whole."[41]

Net migration rates for nonwhites ranged from 1.6% in Jackson County to -47% in Tunica County. Some 37 counties had negative migration rates which exceeded the state rate of -11%. Waller notes that the six highest counties in terms of nonwhite net out-migration were among the eight highest counties in terms of white net out-migration. Apparently the same factors resulting in out movement were equally effective irrespective of race.[42]

County Migration in the Seventies

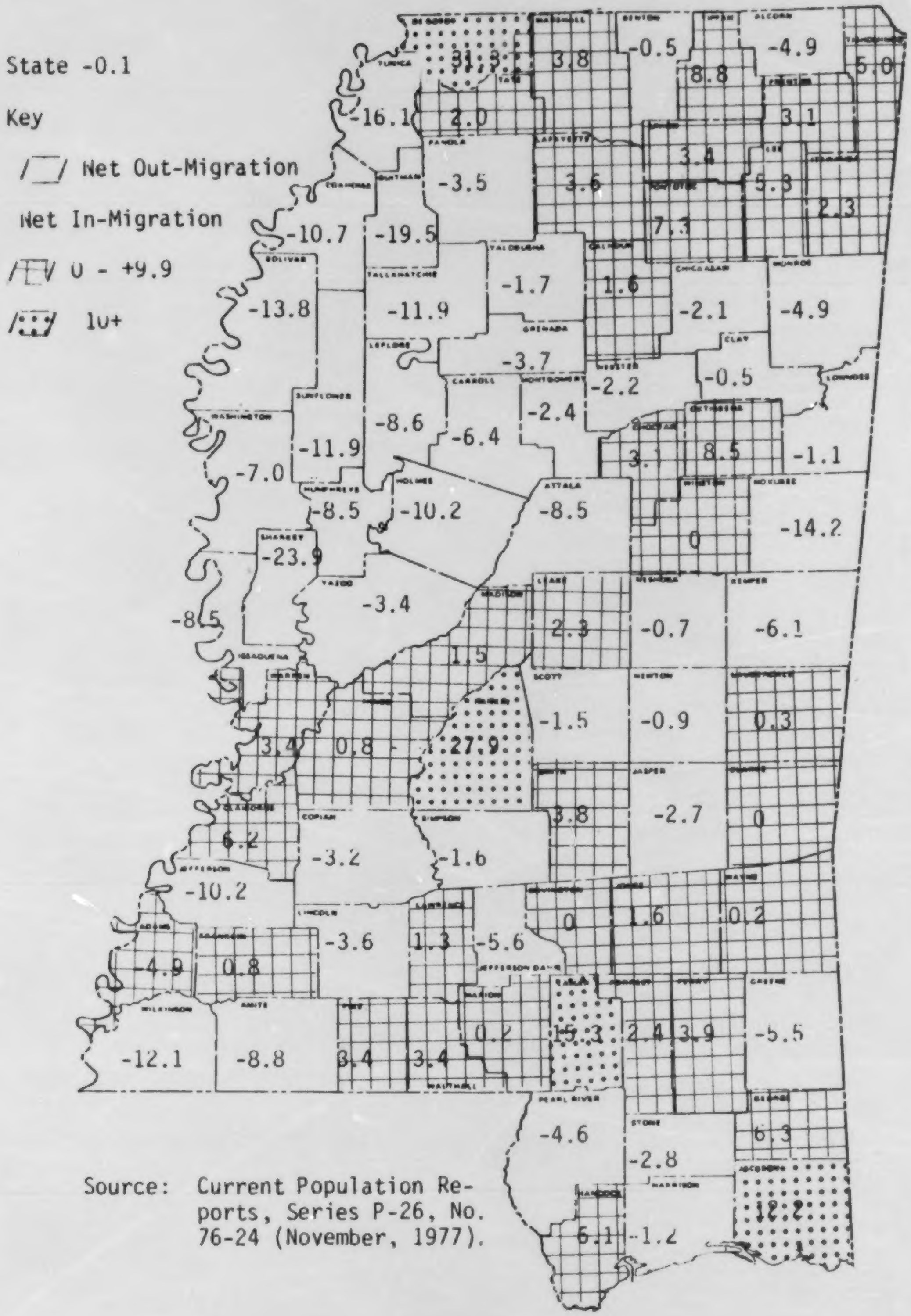
During 1970-1976 over forty Mississippi counties were areas of population gain through migration. Two counties (Pearl River and Stone) which were areas of in-migration during 1960-1970 were areas of out-migration in the 1970s. The other eight counties which were areas of in-migration during the 1960s were areas of continuing in-migration in the 1970s. Over two-dozen counties were areas of migration turnaround from out-migration in the 1960s to in-migration during 1970-1976 (Figure 4).

Migration 1965-1970

Some 15% of Mississippi's 1970 population moved across either county or state lines between 1965 and 1970. There were notable racial differentials in that 20.1% of the state's 1970 white population, compared to 6.5% of the black population, were intercounty or interstate migrants between 1965 and 1970. The racial difference was most pronounced among interstate in-migrants wherein 2.4% of Mississippi's 1970 nonwhite population and 1.9% of the 1960 nonwhite population had migrated to Mississippi within the last five years. Of the total interstate and intercounty movement of Mississippi's 1970 population during 1965-1970, 54% of the white movement and 37% of the nonwhite movement was interstate. This pattern contrasts to that of 1955-1960 wherein 51% of the comparable white movement in contrast to only 24% of the black movement was interstate. The indication is that Mississippi was less attractive as an area of destination for out-of-state blacks than for whites.

Figure 4

NET MIGRARION RATES 1970 - 1976


State -0.1
Key
Net Out-Migration
Net In-Migration
0 - +9.9
10+
31.3
3.8
-0.5
-4.9
5.0
8.8
-16.1
2.0
3.1
3.4
-3.5
3.6
5.3
2.3
7.3
-10.7
-19.5
-1.7
1.6
-13.8
-11.9
-2.1
-4.9
-3.7
-2.2
-0.5
-8.6
-6.4
-2.4
-11.9
3.1
8.5
-1.1
-7.0
-8.5
-10.2
-8.5
0
-14.2
-23.9
-3.4
2.3
-0.7
-6.1
-8.5
1.5
-1.5
-0.9
0.3
3.4
0.8
27.9
3.8
-2.7
0
6.2
-3.2
-1.6
-10.2
0
1.6
0.2
-3.6
1.3
-5.6
-4.9
0.8
0.2
15.3
2.4
3.9
-5.5
-12.1
-8.8
3.4
3.4
6.3
-4.6
-2.8
12.2
6.1
-1.2

Source: Current Population Reports, Series P-26, No. 76-24 (November, 1977).

There were more white out-migrants (152,000) than black out-migrants (87,481). However, the deficit in the exchange of migrants was entirely attributable to the heavy net out-movement of blacks. The differential was not because of extensive black out-movement (which was less than the gross white out-movement), but was due to the relatively smaller contigent of black in-migrants. There were 1.7 whites in Mississippi in 1965 but in another state in 1970 for each black out-migrant. There were about eight white in-migrants for each black in-migrant during this time.[43]

MIGRATION ISSUES AND EFFECTS

Out-Migration as a "Problem"

There has been a widespread tendency to view out-migration, and population loss or stability, as prima facie undesirable.[44] Hollmon and Rungeling, for example, speak of "the imigration of the young and the increase in the number of elderly" persons in Mississippi in a context of "problems" which are "most pressing." The conception of out-migration as a problem is illustrated in their enjoinder that "the out-migration of this reservoir of human capital must be halted. Blame for out-migration in the past cannot be placed squarely on any one group's shoulders. It certainly cannot be attributed to the individuals whose economic future was enhanced by moving."[45]

Out-migration has long been regarded as problematic per se. Implicit in the concept of migration as a "problem" is loss of labor, and thereby of income, and presumably, thereby of consumer demand and sales. Bryant and Wilber, apparently assuming out-migrants could have been productively employed, contended that between 1950 and 1960 out-migratio cost Mississippi $700 million a year.[46] Johnson, noting that "by comparison with the rest of the United States the South is very rich and Southerners are very poor," felt "something seriously amiss" in the social and economic organization of the Southeast when there was a wholesale out-migration of human resources "leaving the region the richest in natural wealth and going into poorer regions." Out-movement from the South was said by Johnson to represent "a loss in magnitude of the national debt."[47]

This out-movement has been regarded in the context of a loss of leadership and labor which could be remedied only by industrialization within the South.[48] Fanelli and Petersen spoke of out-migration as a "problem" which was "currently occupying the best energies of state and local leaders."[49]

The manner in which individual migration effects the welfare of others in areas of origin and in areas of destination depends upon the externalities associated with the move.[50] It is sometimes overlooked that out-movement may carry positive benefits both to migrants and to the area left. Eatherly and Wrighton[51] point out that under a competitive market system of resource allocation and renumeration it is the owners of land and capital rather than laborers who are likely to gain from policies which promote in-migration because of "external economies and diseconomies." Out-movement of labor is likely to contribute to a rise in the wage of remaining labor. By their out-migration laborers confer a benefit upon non-migrant laborers in the form of higher wage (an economy "external" to be themselves) and a loss upon owners of capital in the form of a lower return (a "diseconomy" external to themselves). In general, owners of durable capital and land would be the least likely to benefit from out-migration.[52]

Eatherly and Wrighton conclude their analysis "unconvinced that out-migration involves a sizable economic loss for the state as a whole." While it is true that some resource owners face external diseconomies, such as owners of land,[53] other resource owners will gain from out-migration (those who possess characteristics, skills, or abilities competitive with those of out-migrants). To the extent that "the gain will approximately offset the loss"[54] then "the only person affected by migration are the migrants themselves, and they are clearly made better off so long as they correctly judge their opportunities."[56] It should also be noted, as Eatherly and Wrighton point out, that the increased employment opportunities requisite for population growth "will be bought at a cost--increased congestion, population of the environment, urban problems, etc.; these costs clearly must be weighed in any population policy."[56]

Wertheimer, who calculated the returns to individual migrants of south-north migration, suggested "a policy conclusion which has important policy implications."

> .....from the point of view of the migrant, migration has been overrated as a problem. Migration...out of the South is not significant enough...to warrant the considerable alarm the migration issue stimulates. The most important policy implication of this is that programs to stem migration to the cities are not likely to have much impact on city problems.[57]

Mills has observed that the evidence is overwhelming that blacks have greatly improved their economic and political life by urbanization.[58] Migration from farm to city within the state has also been shown to be positively associated with upward mobility and increased levels-of-living of black migrants.[59]

Hansen suggests that out-migration should be viewed as a social gain rather than a cause for alarm, at least in so far as regional policy aims at increasing individual welfare rather than maintaining or expanding the number of persons resident in a given area. [60] Parr advises that "it should not be overlooked that out-migration...of the population generally is one of the most common adjustments to social and economic change: often it is the most desirable one."[61] Migration away from areas which are not able to absorb additional entrants into the labor force of an area has facilitated occupational mobility, has increased the income earning opportunities of many, and has been a major factor in bringing about greater income equality between blacks and whites.[62]

Human Resources Exchange

Some observers contended the South was losing more qualitatively than it was gaining with the out-migration of "its most ambitious and brightest people...keeping mainly the mediocre in both the small towns and the cities."[63] Some commentators making such evaluations of this tenor had little difficulty in switching within the space of a single sentence, seemingly oblivious to any inherent contradiction, in that "the South was exporting people with little schooling and importing ones with college degrees."[64]

That in-migrants may be technical or managerial personnel, while out-migrants (at least in the past, may have contained a significant component released from agricultural employment because of the effect of mechanization[65] and of government policies which had the effect of prompting out-migration)[66] may be in higher income brackets or in technical, professional, or managerial employment is a non-sequitor as to the desirability of attracting in-migrants. However, there is little question but that the direction of net migration in Mississippi has been balanced in favor of technical and managerial personnel.[67] Eatherly and Wrighton suggest that "Mississippi seems to be faring well in the exchange of 'human capital' implicit in interstate migration - - so well that it is probably replacing its losses of white residents in terms of quality as well as quantity."[68] One might caveat that the Mississippi is doing all to well in the attraction of in-migrants.

Industrialization and Migration

Mississippi has long been engaged in a quest for industrial development.[69] While not everyone has acquiesced to the industrial mode as the desiridatum for the South,[70] industrial growth has often been favorably proposed for its alleged efficacy in preventing out-migration.[71] Wilber and Robbins, examining Mississippi population trends in the fifties, advised that it was "extremely important" that "present birth and death rates be maintained to offset migration losses," and that urban-industrial development was required to "prevent

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out-migration and to bring more people into the state."[72] While such might be true to obtain the ends posited, it is less clear why out-migration should be prevented or why it would be desirable "to bring in more people to the state."[73] Burrus has appropriately observed that continued "urbanization is not an unmixed blessing... national averages are not necessarily infallible models for aspiration."[74]

Industrial development is an illustrative issue wherein it is easy to conclude that more is better. Without question, industrial development has helped prosperity. However, the result probably is not unidirectional, and, at some point, may represent decrements rather than increments in the overall quality of life which can be found in Mississippi. Furthermore, if the underprivileged of an area are the criteria of judgement, industrial expansion must be of a nature which allows for maximum employment of local area labor rather than recruitment of outside technicians and laborers. This means that developments which impose an increased work force and population growth and in-migration onto a community may not be desirable. The need may be for low wage and labor intensive industry rather than capital intensive high income manufacturing. At the same time, either development may increase the risk of in-migration and population growth.

Externalities and Serendiptious Effects

Among other effects, the migratory pattern of a population may affect the political composition and civic culture of the state. Whereas some 16.5% of the population of the United States as a whole was born in another country or had a parent born outside of the country, the percentage in Mississippi (1.3%) is the lowest in the nation. Furthermore, the homogenous nature of Mississippi's white, anglo-saxon, protestant population has shifted only slightly in recent years. The major change, as Landry and Parker have pointed out, "has not been toward more diversity but less, with...blacks losing in percentage of total population," largely due to the extensive net out-migration of blacks. Landry and Parker claim

> ...The migration into the state has come predominantly from other southern states and has consisted mostly of whites.. Thus, both the out-migration and in-migration strengthen the homogeneity of the population. This helps to strengthen an innate rural conservatism...Politically, it has had the effect of resistance to reform movements in the political system.[75]

Internal transition in the distribution of population has exerted a definite effect on the civic and social culture, including a liberalization of racial norms.[76] Movement of blacks from rural areas to towns or to cities of the North provided a new cultural enviornment wherein "they absorbed an ethic of freedom" which could not be reconciled with state determined rules and normative strictures.[77] Blacks as a class may have exerted their greatest influence in altering the racial norms within Mississippi through sufficiently extensive out-migration to become a viable political entity in northern states. One result of the apeal to blacks in populous northern states was Truman's decision to affirmatively seek the big city vote in the north rather than support southern attitudes on segregation. This initative helped lay a basis for the mobilization of national pressure on state politics which has subsequently altered Mississippi's civic culture.[78]

The above represents what is largely an external influence, Cohn, writing several decades ago, when it could be accurately said that the "Negro's life is dominated by the fact of the white man's presence" while white society was "conditioned by the presence of masses of Negroes," felt that sufficient out-migration to reduce the black majority in the Delta was an absolute necessity. for improvement in race relations. Cohn, of course, was speaking in terms of a demographic requisite for an alteration of local normative structures on a locally initiated basis rather than from outside initiation as reflected in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The presence of migrants from the South to other areas did help to bring about dramatic alterations in social norms and practices, including the legal basis for segregationist policies, though more in the form of the exertion of outside pressure than a self-initiated reaction to a declining proportion of black population.

POPULATION COMPOSITION

Migration, as well as fertility behavior, alters the composition of the population of areas. Such demographic features of the population as the racial and age composition are highly significant to persons concerned with social welfare, economic projections, and, for that matter, any area of social and physical existence.

Racial Composition of Mississippi's Population

In 1900 the nonwhite population of Mississippi exceeded the white population by nearly 270,000 persons. In 1940 the population ratio was nearly even, with the State having a slightly larger white population (Table 1). The Mississippi population in 1970 was 63% white and 37% black. The nation as a whole was about 88.5% white. The urban population in Mississippi has a larger component of white population (66%) than does rural Mississippi (60% white). This difference is at least in part the result of a tendency for rural blacks to move to cities outside of the South, and is probably due to some extent to a tendency for Mississippi in-migrants to settle in urban areas.

TABLE 21

1965 RESIDENCE OF 1970 POPULATION, AND 1955 RESIDENCE OF 1960 POPULATION, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI

	1970 Population		1960 Population	
	Different		Different	
	County	State	County	State
Category	%		%	
Total	7.4	7.8	8.8	7.3
White	9.2	10.9	10.7	11.0
Nonwhite	4.1	2.4	6.1	1.9

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970. General Social and Ecomic Characteristics, Mississippi PC (1) - C26.

Louisiana was the area of destination for 23,263 persons living in Mississippi in 1965 but elsewhere in 1970, with Illinois (20,000) and Texas (16,525) also being major recipient areas.

TABLE 22

GROSS MIGRATION BY SEX AND RACE, MISSISSIPPI 1965-1970

	IN	OUT	NET
Total	195,370	240,539	-45,169
Male	103,473	120,513	-17,040
Female	91,897	120,026	-28,129
White	172,363	152,318	20,045
Black	21,698	87,481	-65 783

Source: Current Population Reports, "Gross Migration By County 1965 to 1970," Series P-25, No. 701, p. 67.

Table 22 shows the gross migration 1965-1970 of the Mississippi population by sex and race. There were some 45,000 more persons in Mississippi in 1965 living elsewhere in 1970 than there were persons in other states in 1965 but in Mississippi in 1970. The out-migrants were about evenly divided between male and female movers (120,000 each), but there were fewer male in-migrants than female in-migrants.

TABLE 23

POPULATION CHANGE, AND COMPONENTS, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1960-1970

	1970	1960	Change Number	%	Components Births	Deaths	Change Migration Number	Ratio
Total	2,216.064	2,178,141	37,923	1.7	533,907	227,742	-268,242	-12.3
White	1,392,432	1,257,546	134.886	10.7	250,045	123,898	8,739	0.7
Nonwhite	823,632	920,595	-96,963	-10.5	283,962	103.844	-276,981	-30.1

Source: U.S Bureau of the Census, "General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan areas, 1960-1970, Mississippi" PHC(2)-26 (May, 1971), p. 26-10.

Table 23 shows the components of population change, by race, for Mississippi during the 1960s. Population stability in terms of overall growth during the 1960s was the result of offsetting growth of the white population balanced by a decline in black population. Although the black population in Mississippi was only 73% of the white population in 1960 and 59% of the white population in 1970, the natural increase of the black population (180, 019) was 143% of the white natural increase (126,147). A notable contrast in reproductive behavior is suggested by the fact that the black population (37% in 1970) accounted for over one-half of the births (53%) in Mississippi during 1960-1970.

Mississippi's white population increased by some 135,000 persons during the decade of the 1960s. Approximately 126,000 of this increase can be attributed to natural increase and circa 9,000 to in-migration. The net in-migration of white population during the 1960s was the first time this has occurred in this century.[80] Some two-thirds of Mississippi's counties had negative white outmigration in the 1960s. However, extensive white in-migration in a few counties was sufficient to offset the white out-movement from the other counties.[81]

Missippi has changed from a state that was over 50% black in 1930 to one that was 37% black in 1970.[82] This "whitening" of Mississippi, which occurred inspite of comparatively higher birth rates among nonwhites, is entirely the result of differential migration. The migration loss of nonwhite population during the 1960s was 277,000. There was a net loss of about 100,000. The natural increase of the nonwhite population (180,000) was actually greater than the white natural increase, though the overall nonwhite population showed a net decrease of nearly 100,000 persons.

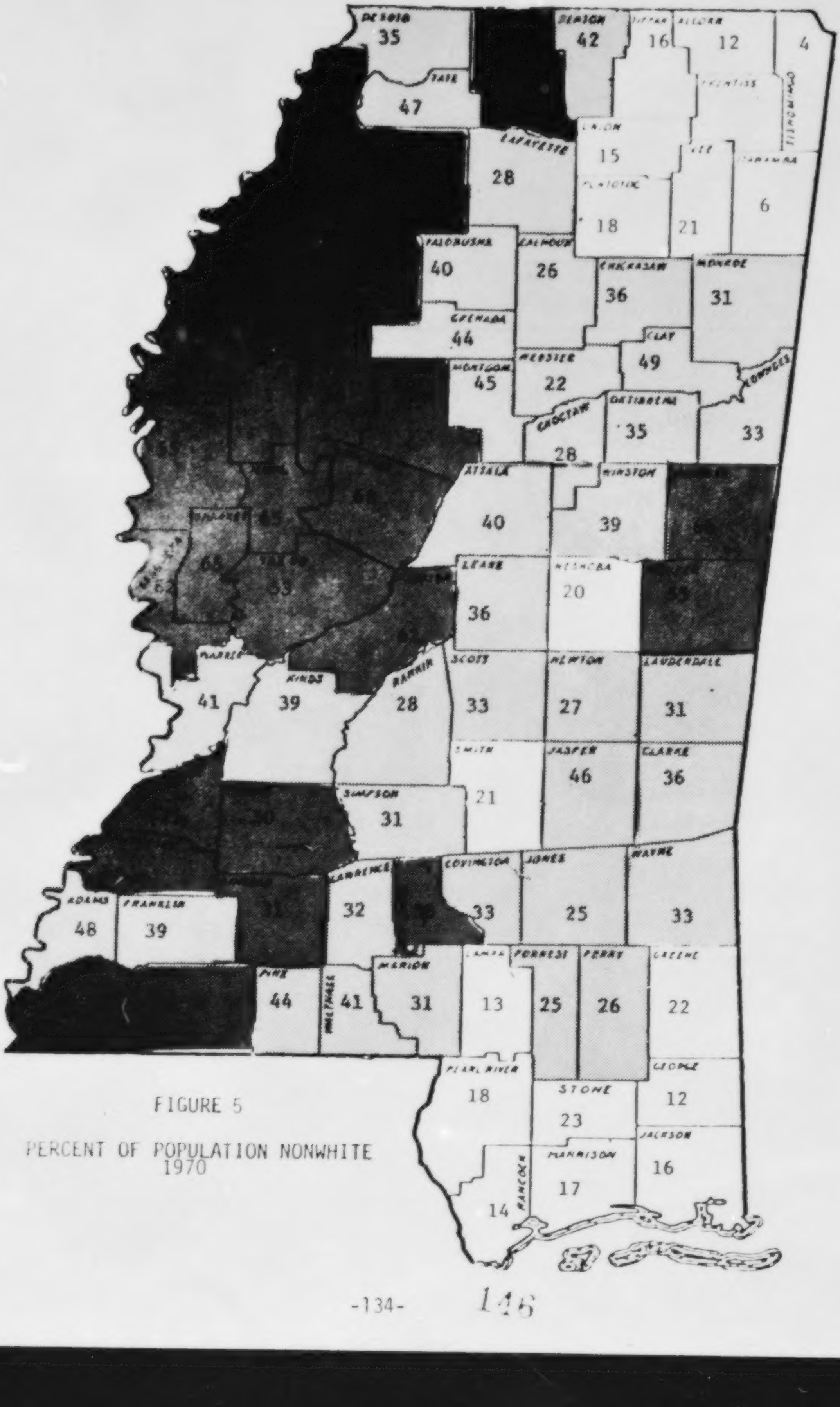

DE SOTO 35
TATE 47
BENTON 42
TIPPAH 16
ALCORN 12
4
PRENTISS
TISHOMINGO
UNION 15
LEE 21
ITAWAMBA 6
PONTOTOC 18
LAFAYETTE 28
YALOBUSHA 40
CALHOUN 26
CHICKASAW 36
MONROE 31
GRENADA 44
CLAY 49
MONTGOMERY 45
WEBSTER 22
LOWNDES 33
CHOCTAW 28
OKTIBBEHA 35
ATTALA 40
WINSTON 39
LEAKE 36
NESHOBA 20
WARREN 41
HINDS 39
RANKIN 28
SCOTT 33
NEWTON 27
LAUDERDALE 31
SMITH 21
JASPER 46
CLARKE 36
SIMPSON 31
ADAMS 48
FRANKLIN 39
LAWRENCE 32
COVINGTON 33
JONES 25
WAYNE 33
PIKE 44
WALTHALL 41
MARION 31
LAMAR 13
FORREST 25
PERRY 26
GREENE 22
PEARL RIVER 18
STONE 23
GEORGE 12
HANCOCK 14
HARRISON 17
JACKSON 16

FIGURE 5

PERCENT OF POPULATION NONWHITE
1970

Age-Group Changes

During 1965-1970 Mississippi's under age five population declined by -24.7%, the age 5-14 population declined by -2.3%, the 15-24 population increased by 22.6%,[83] and the 25-44 population declined by -1.8%. The 45-64 and over 65 categories grew by 5.2% and 17% respectively.[84]

The decrease in the child population parallels the decline in the national birth rate which began declining from the post-war "baby boom" in 1957. The large increase in persons 15-24 reflects the high fertility levels in the decade after the war. Although complicated by migration, the slight decline in the population age 25-44 coincides with the decrease in the birth rates in the 1930s.

MISSISSIPPI'S OLDER POPULATION

During 1960-1970 the Mississippi population increased for each age interval age 55 and above.[85] Mississippi's population age 55-59 increased by 9.3%, age 60-64 by 28.6%, age 65-69 by 14.6%, age 70-74 by 12.1%, and above age 75 by 23.5%. Between 1900 and 1975 the aged population of Mississippi increased from 45,000 to an estimated 253,400 persons, an increase from 2% to 10.1% of the population (Table 24). This segment of the population increased by 14.6% during the first half of the 1970s.[86]

TABLE 24

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AGE 65 AND OVER
MISSISSIPPI, 1900-1976, AND ESTIMATES 1980-1990

YEAR	NUMBER	PERCENT
1900	45,000	2.0
1930	77,000	3.7
1940	115,418	5.3
1950	152,964	7.0
1960	190,000	8.7
1970	222,320	10.1
1976	259,300	10.7
1980	278,300	10.9
1985	296,100	10.8
1990	307,000	9.1

Source: 1900-1970: U.S. Bureau of the Census; 1976: DHEW Pub. No. (OHDS) 78-20248; 1980-1990: T. Sivia, et al., State and Metropolitan Growth Patterns (Washington: National Planning Association, 1977), p. 558.

Migratory Movement of the Aged

Most elderly migrants move to a comparatively few states. Florida experiences the largest number of aged in-migrants, while Arizona, the coastal states of the west, the Ozarks, and the Sunbelt states are also hit by the fallout of elderly migration. In general, elderly migration appears to select from upper socioeconomic status levels and the socioeconomic status selectivity increases with the distance of the move.[87]

Mississippi does not appear to be receiving a particularly notable influx of elderly persons. During 1965-1970 Mississippi received 8,900 elderly in-migrants; however, Mississippi managed to unload 9,500 elderly out-migrants during this time.

Only seven counties in Mississippi had net in-migration rates of 10% or more during 1960-1970. These counties were Jackson, DeSoto, Tate, Benton, Prentiss, Grenada, and Stone counties. Of these, in two, DeSoto and Jackson counties, the in-migration rate was 25% or more.[88]

The Black Aged in Mississippi

The total black population of Mississippi decreased by 11% during the 1960s. However, the black aged population of Mississippi grew by 7.7%. Mississippi's percentage increase in its black aged population was among the lowest in the United States (rank 48th). Nevertheless, Mississippi was the eighth ranking state in 1970 in terms of the size of the aged black population. Mississippi's aged black population in 1970 was 79,208.

TABLE 25

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE BLACK POPULATION, MISSISSIPPI 1970 AND PERCENT CHANGE, 1960-1970

All Ages	
Number	815,770
% Change 1960-1970	-10.9
Age 45-64	
Number	129,832
% of all Ages	15.9
% Change 1960-1970	-13.1
65 and Beyond	
Number	79,208
% of All Ages	9.7
% Change 1960-1970	+7.7

Source: Herman B. Brotman and B.S. Williams, "State Trends 1950-1970," Facts and Figures on Older Americans, No. 6 DHEW Publication No. (SRS) 73-20007.

There is some evidence to suggest that aged blacks may enjoy some advantages relative to whites.[89] Once obtaining advanced age, black life expectancy is greater than for whites. The accepted explanation seems to be that sociocultural deprivation results in earlier deaths of blacks who may be physiologically disadvantaged.[90] Roberts[91] has suggested that the black aged, compared with white aged, generally feel more accepted by their children and receive more assistance from them. Others have similarly suggested that features of the black culture foster successful adaptation among the black aged.[92]

Increases in Aged Population in the 1970s

The proportion of elderly persons in the U.S. population increased from 4.1% in 1900 to 10.7% in 1976, more than doubling between the turn of the century and 1950. Mississippi had a smaller proportion of aged persons than did the U.S. as a whole from 1900 (when 2% of Mississippi's population were elderly) until 1970, when the proportion of aged persons in Mississippi (10.1%) slightly exceeded the national level (9.9%). In 1976, the national average was 10.7% (an increase of .2 percentage points during the 1970s) compared to Mississippi's increase of .3 percentage points.

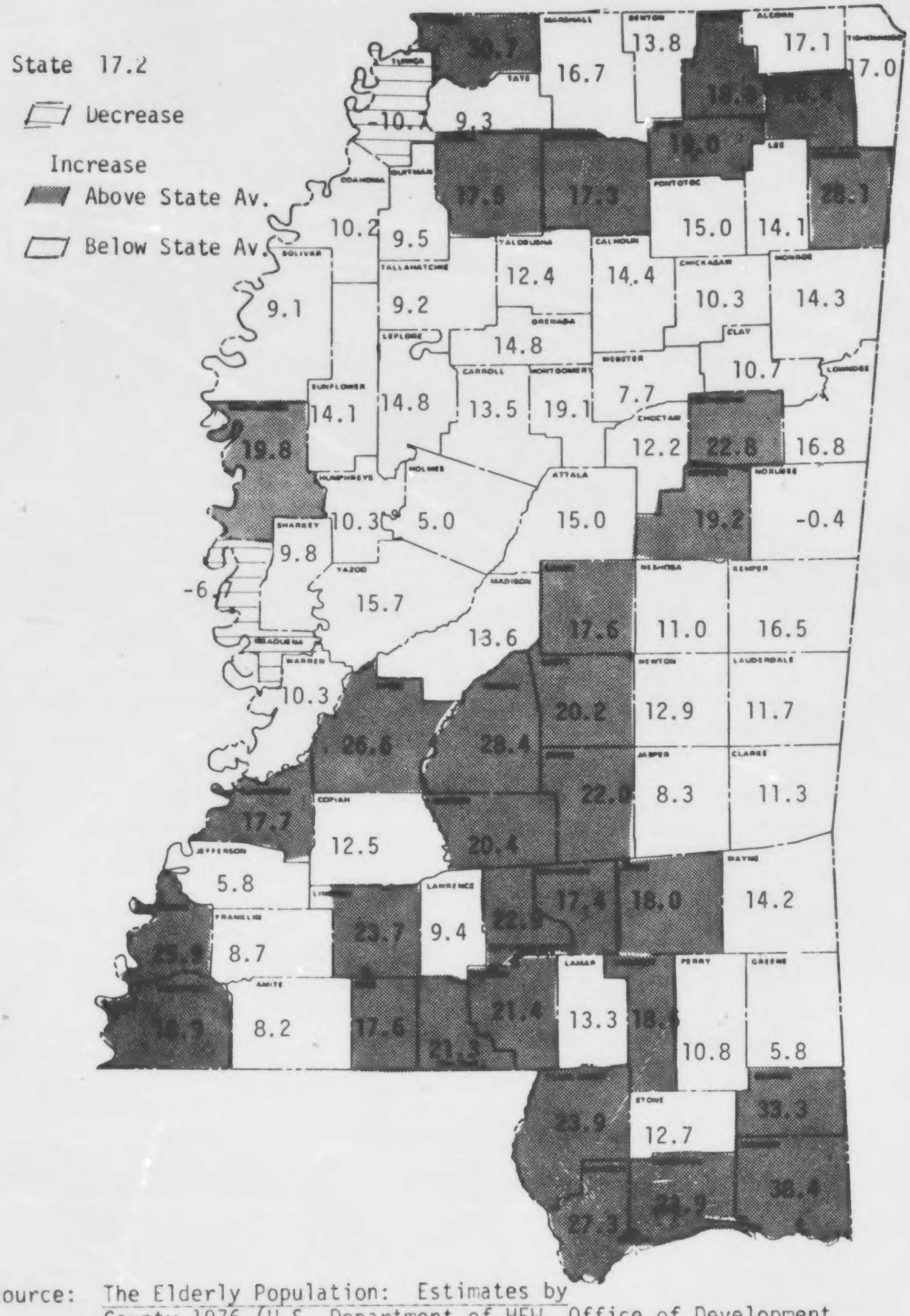
Mississippi's elderly population (age 65 and above) increased nearly three times as fast as did the total population in 1970-1976. Elderly Mississippians now total 259,000 or 11% of the population. This component increased by 17.2% (137,000 persons) during 1970-1976, compared to only 6.2% (38,100 persons) for the population as a whole. Growth in the aged population accounted for over one-fourth of Mississippi's population growth in the 1970s. The increase in Mississippi's older population during 1970-1976 was 38.5% of the increase in the population under age 65.

In contrast to the total population, which decreased in 18 Mississippi counties during 1970-1976, the aged population decreased in only three counties -- Tunica (-10.7%), Issaquena (-6.7%), and Noxubee (-0.4%). The increase in aged population in the other seventy-nine counties ranged from a low of 5% in Holmes County to highs of 33.3% in George and 38.1% in Jackson County.

Some twenty Mississippi Counties contained a smaller proportion of aged persons than the state average (Figure 7). Areas with the greatest increase in aged population were not necessarily the areas with the highest proportion of aged population. In fact, the opposite relationship is noticable: Those areas experiencing the greatest increase in aged population tend to be areas of low concentrations of elderly persons relative to total population.

FIGURE 6

PERCENT CHANGE, AGED POPULATION, 1970 - 1976


State 17.2
Decrease
Increase
Above State Av.
Below State Av.
30.7
16.7
13.8
17.1
17.0
-10.7
9.3
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20.4
19.0
28.1
10.2
9.5
17.6
17.3
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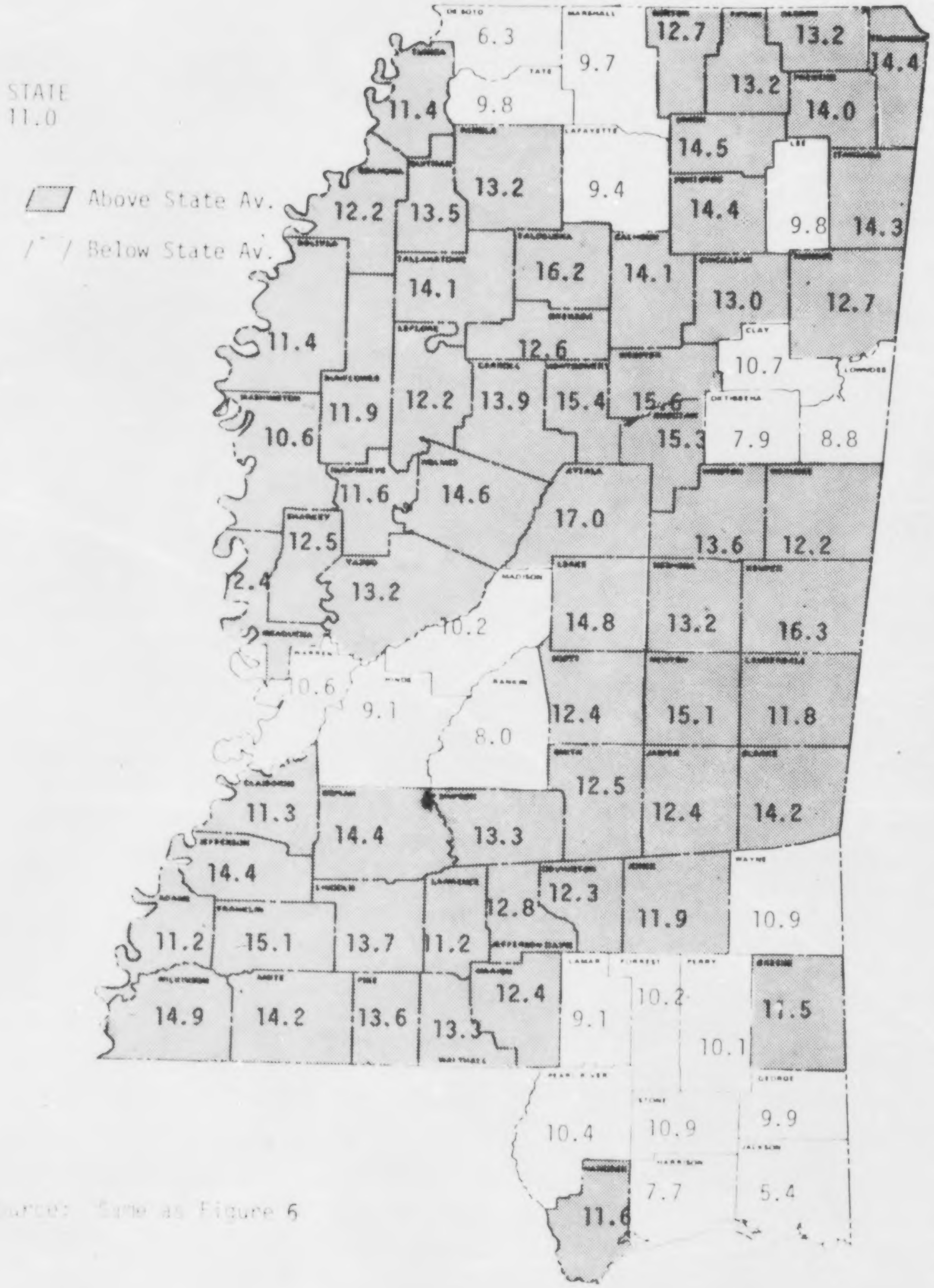
21.3
21.4
13.3
18.6
10.8
5.8
23.9
12.7
33.3
27.3
24.9
38.4

Source: The Elderly Population: Estimates by County 1976 (U.S. Department of HEW, Office of Development Services - Administration on Aging, National Clearinghouse on Aging, DHEW Pub. No. - ODHS 78-20248, n.d., 1978), pp.64-66.

FIGURE 7

PERCENT OF POPULATION AGE 65+, 1976


STATE
11.0
Above State Av.
Below State Av.
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9.7
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7.7
5.4
11.6

Source: Same as Figure 6

Out-migration of younger persons during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s from rural areas would contribute to rural counties having a high portion of aged persons in the 1970s. That the proportion of aged persons in the Delta Counties, which continued to be an area of heavy out-migration of young adults during the 1960s, is not higher than it is relative to predominantly rural areas in other parts of the state is probably explainable in terms of the relatively high birth rate in the Delta. Since the increase of aged persons in areas of urban and suburban growth is associated with rapid increase in all groups, areas such as Jackson, Harrison, Hinds, Forrest, Rankin, and DeSoto Counties, which contain or which are near larger population centers, do not have comparatively high proporations of population over 65.

Whether the increased presence of aged persons should be translated into heightened efforts in funding, resource mobilization, outreach, or policy formulation in the interest of aging-specific organizations is probably debatable. However, it should be remembered that each period of the life cycle is equally precious and deserving of respect for its inate sanctity and value as a component of the totality and continuity of human existence. Retention of this perspective may be especially difficult in a society characterized by increased economic tensions, restraints, and social pressures. Whatever aging may mean--demographically, economically, socially, or in terms of individual internal and circumstantial life space, it is important to recognize that aging, a fundamental component of life itself, is a process. To be old, we must become old.

As progress has been made in controlling the communicable and infections diseases, survivorship and life expectancy has been increased. Consequently, a larger component of any given birth cohort is now living through childhood and adulthood and into old age. Consequent to the improving health levels evidenced by lowered mortality rates and the decline of the communicable diseases such as tuberculosis, influenza, and pneumonia as leading causes of death, there has been an increased prevalence of chronic and degenerative disease because of the increase in the older population.[92]

POTENTIAL POPULATION PROSPECTS

Recent population trends which effect Mississippi and which are alterations of long-term patterns include the emergence of the South as recipient area for migration, population renaisance in non-metropolitan America, return migration of blacks, and the much noted comparitive favor of the South as opposed to the "frostbelt."[93]

Heavy out-migration from Mississippi has been necessary, given the state's economic structure.[94] Furthermore, it has carried with it considerable economic advantage for individual migrants.[95] Migrants

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from the South appear to have been desirable candidates for northern employment,[96] thereby providing a labor supply benefit to areas of entry as well.

Although numerous impressionistic equations of northern urban pathology to rural-urban south-north migration have been made, accumulating data has challenged if not refuted the casual journalistic thesis that poor rural-urban South-North migrants comprise the majority of poor persons in Northern slums or that they are a primary causative factor in urban pathologies. For instance, Price, who made an extensive study of migration patterns for the OEO, concluded that "welfare costs and social problems of cities are not related to recent migrant arrivals.[97]

Price's assessment lead to a conclusion that welfare costs and social problems of cities are not related to the arrival of recent migrants, that blacks are not unduly represented among migrants to northern urban areas, and that the rural-urban North-South migrants tend to be better off after migration than do their rural counterparts. This led Price to conclude that "given the total situation...the individuals themselves are better off, the area of out-migration is frequently relieved of 'surplus' population with the result that the remaining individuals are better off, and while the in-migrant may well cost the city government some sort of cash expenditure, if he does not stay in poverty, this will be more than repaid."[98] Similarly, Bacon has suggested that causal attribution of Northern urban poverty to in-migration from the South derives more from the visibility of the transplanted rural poor in cities than from an actual magnitude of volume.[99]

Indications of Return Population Movement

During the 1970s there have been noticeable indications of a return migration by blacks to the Deep South.[100] During 1955-1960, 394,000 blacks left the south, with 117,000 moving north to south. Census bureau estimates are that during 1970-1975 some 288,000 blacks left the south while 302,000 came into the south from the north.[101] Reasons are varied: Prosperous blacks fleeing the cities, retired and others moving to inherited or purchased farms, and return or disillusioned out-migrants of earlier years. Apparently, the "south is opening up faster for blacks than whites." Components of population change in Mississippi in the 1970s indicate a probable lessening if not a reversal in the direction of black movement.[103] In addition to the potential for return migration,[104] the potential exists for considerable interstate movement of persons born in the areas of destination of their out-migrant parents to move to the parental area of origin.

Much of the historic movement out of the Mississippi Delta, where there was a concentration of black labor in agriculture, was probably due to some limited extent to a "push" from the undesirable conditions of many blacks and the comparative contrast of desirable "pull" forces in the north.[105] However, the ratio of area amenities and attractions to area deprivations seems to be reversing in balance.

The census bureau estimated that during 1970-1973 247,000 blacks moved into the South, but only 166,000 moved out. The expression of a 26-year-old black female in the Alabama black belt was said to summarize a considerable element of the causative configuration: "I grew up in Detroit...Crime was everywhere. You couldn't save any money and people were rude."[106] One of many Mississippi blacks who abandoned Chicago has written and/or has been ghosted as stating: "Opportunities are opening up here. There's plenty of wide open space. The air is better. The pollution is less. Nobody's afraid... we're having a reverse migration to the South in general."[107]

TABLE 26

COMPONENTS OF POPULATION CHANGE,
MISSISSIPPI, 1970-1977

1977 Population	Change 1970-1977	Components of Change		
		Births	Deaths	Net-Migration
2,368,000	173,000 (7.99%)	329,000	169,000	3,000

Source: Current Population Reports, P-25, No. 727 (July, 1978).

Eatherly estimates that Mississippi in- and out-movement during 1965-1970 about cancelled each other out in terms of the per capita income exchange. Many Mississippians are leaving to do well elsewhere, while many are apparently coming to Mississippi for the same reason. He observes that blacks were a minority of out-movers[108] and that out-migrants from Mississippi are no more of a burden on recipient states than theirs are to Mississippi.

Reversal of Historic Migration Patterns

Historic net white-movement of Mississippians seems to have reversed itself in the latter half of the 1950s, with a decade reversal becoming apparent in the 1960s. Mississippi out-migrations during the 1960s was 40% less than in the 1960s. During

1970-1977, whatever the racial composition of in- and out-migration, not only was the out-movement inadequate to offset natural increase, but was subjecting the state to population growth through net in-movement (Table 26).

TABLE 27

MIGRATION OF ALL INCOME AND POVERTY POPULATION, BY REGION, UNITED STATES, 1970-1975

	ALL INCOME LEVELS			BELOW POVERTY INCOME		
	In	Out	Net	In	Out	Net
South	922	658	264	113	75	38
West	676	446	230	87	-16	41
Northeast	281	566	-285	22	67	-45
North Central	462	672	-210	59	92	-33

Source: Larry H. Long, "Interregional Migration of the Poor: Some Recent Changes," CPR, Series P-23, No. 73 (November, 1978), p. 14.

Migration of the Poverty Population

Data from the 1976 Survey of Income and Education show that during the 1970s the South was a net receiving area for the poor (Table 27). Both the northeast and north central states were exporters of poor persons, and the South was a recipient area. During the 1960s the South appears to have become a net importer of the nonpoor; during the 1970s the South became a net importer of black population and of below poverty population. Nevertheless, the South has been responsible for all of the reduction in poverty in the nation in the 1970s.[111]

Growth Patterns in Mississippi

These trends, taken in concert, indicate that Mississippi's heretofore enviable position as an area of overall growth by-pass may have come to a close. In the 1940s Mississippi was fortunate to enjoy an overall population decrease of about 5,000 persons.

Mississippi's 1960 population was almost exactly the same as its 1950 population (Table 1). The state suffered a slight increase during 1960-1970 (1.8%) although maintaining a favorable ratio of out to in-migrants. During the interim 1970-1977 the incipient increase of the 1960s crescendoed to 7.9% (Table 27). What appears to be a change from benign stability to population growth is indicated in the following array:

DYNAMICS OF MISSISSIPPI CHANGE: FROM STABILITY TO POTENTIAL GROWTH, 1940s-1970s

1940s - Net out-movement, black and white, sufficient to offset natural increase.

1950s - Decade net out-movement, black and white, sufficient to offset natural increase. Indications of reversal of net white out-movement latter half of decade.

1960s - Net in- movement of whites, but sufficient net out-movement of blacks to offset natural increase.

1970s - Overall reversal of net out-movement combined with continued natural increase.

These changes could offset past trends in the composition of the state's population. Black natural increase is considerably higher than white natural increase.[112] The total volume of white out-migration apparently is greater than the total black out-movement. If the state overall net out-movement should be reduced or reverse its direction, there would appear to be a good chance for an alteration in the heretofore characteristic trend of a progressively decreasing ratio of black to white population.

Internally, there will likely be a continuing growth of urban centers and buildup of urbanized areas, reflecting both continued urban concentration and decentralization. Considerable attention has been given in the sociological literature to small town decline.[112] More recently, there has been such a significant national growth in smaller metro areas and small towns and rural areas that it has been said that "...the huge rural-to-urban trend, the common pattern... since World War II, has been reversed."[113]

Changing Small Center Functions

DeAre has summarized the effect of centralization of population and of trade and service industries:

> ...This centralization is in part the result of population declines in the agricultural hinterlands supporting the lower-level centers, caused by changes in agricultural scale and the concomitant migration of rural people to larger urban centers in search of employment opportunities. Centralization in large centers and the weakening of small centers is also the result of advancements in transportation technology. Improved transport extends the market areas of the larger centers by making it easier and more economical for residents of small towns and rural areas to shop in large cities, which offer wide selections of merchandise and services. The increased competition with larger centers results in reduced local demand for goods and services and thus losses of functions in small towns. The small town merchants suffer, local trade dwindles, tax receipts drop, and the entire community is adversely affected.[114]

It is clear that the population threshold necessary to support many kinds of businesses has decreased with the increased ease of transportation and as consumers patronized more distant retail establishments offering a wider variety of choice. One visible ecological result is the abandonment of the business areas of small communities which were striving small area trade centers three to five decades earlier. At the same time, "lower-level trade and services centers located in close proximity to large cities may gain population through a switch in function and role. For example, they may become industrial satellites or dormitory suburbs of large cities. Remote small centers, on the other hand, may also be likely to grow due to the absense of serious competition from small cities."[115]

With continued population concentration and urban buildup, satellite communities may undergo altered function from prior declining small area service centers to recipient of urban spillover, becoming residential communities for larger near-by urban centers. Convenience stores,restaurants, and specialty shops may follow population as buildup of the intermittent areas takes place through decentralization of wholesale establishments, service industries, and shopping centers from the central or hub city. Consequently, areas of prior population decline may experience population rejuvenation as part of the simultaneous concentration-decentralization of population -- continued centralization combined with urban spread and decentralization in suburban and exurban dispursement.

Figure 8 is a generalized model of stages which, to a more or less degree, may be characteristic of the cycle through which the development of small population centers may be refracted. It is probably descriptive of the population experience of many small communities in Mississippi -- from a) small area trade and service centers to b) loss of some functions and possibly population due to centralization to c) population increase and increase in some satellite functions. The population experience of stage "D" is likely to represent the effect of several interrelated variables.

During 1970-1975 not only was there a larger growth of nonmetropolitan than metropolitan population, but there was also an inverse relationship between the size of incorporated places and metropolitan growth nationally. The nonmetropolitan population outside of incorporated places of 2,500 or more grew at a faster rate than the nonmetropolitan population as a whole.[116] In Mississippi, during 1970-1976 the metropolitan population grew by 80,200 persons (14.8%) while the nonmetropolitan population increased at a smaller rate (3.4%).[117] Notably, this pattern of nonmetropolitan growth represents a turnaround from the loss of nonmetropolitan population during 1960-1970. It also represents a smaller rate of nonmetropolitan growth during the 1970s (14.8% compared to 110%).[118]

By 1977 the Mississippi population had reached 2,368,000, an increase of 7.9% during 1970-1977. Natural increase accounted for 160,000. This was the result of 329,000 births and 169,000 deaths. Net migration accounted for 13,000 of the total population growth. While the net migration rate was small (0.1%), it is indicative of reversal of long-term patterns of net out-migration in Mississippi.

Factors in Contemporary Growth Trends

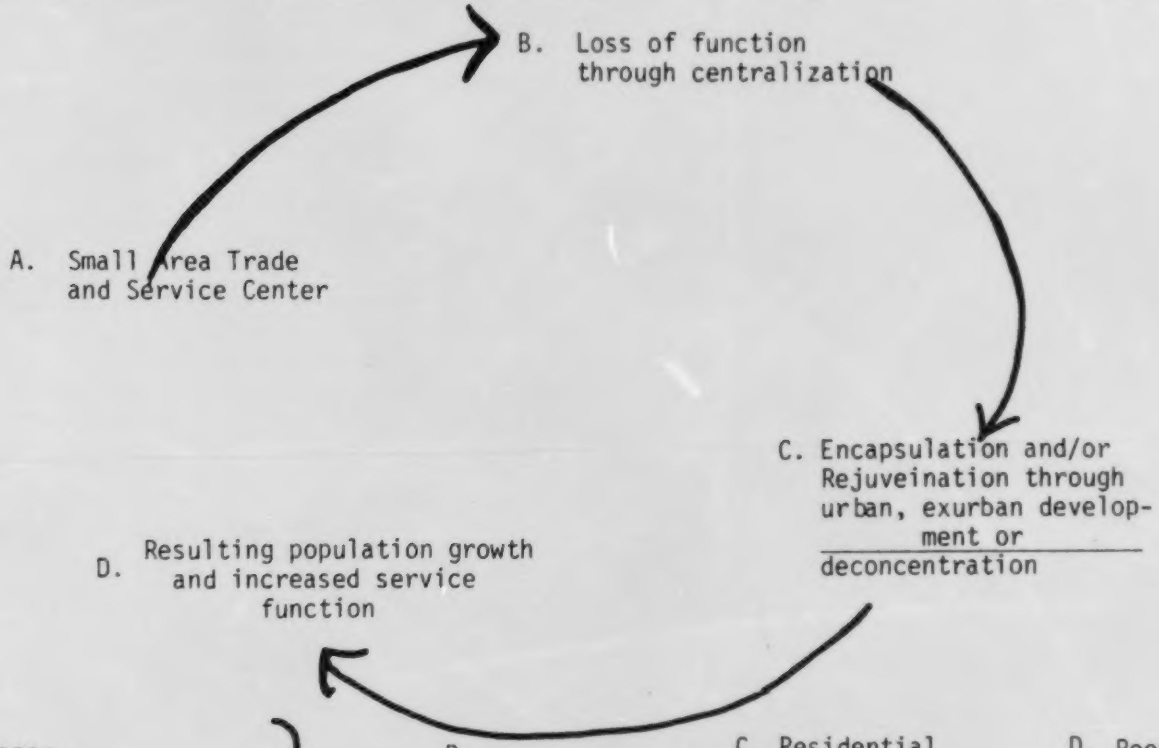
To a large extent migration is a demographic response to organizational and to technological and environmental adjustments.[119] Brown has pointed out that in evaluating potential population prospects the relationships of interdependence are dynamic and ever changing.

> We cannot be guided by past notions of seemingly never ending metro concentration, of decline and abandonment of small towns and rural areas, or of out-migration from the South. People and activities are mobile and the determinants of their mobility can change. The perceived advantage of one location over another is not a static situation, nor is the technological or social organizational base upon which communities prosper or decline.[120]

Factors responsible for area overall population patterns typically are a result of interrelated structural features. For example,

FIGURE 8

GENERALIZED CYCLE OF SMALL CENTER ALTERATION


A. Small Area Trade and Service Center
B. Loss of function through centralization
C. Encapsulation and/or Rejuveination through urban, exurban development or deconcentration
D. Resulting population growth and increased service function

A.	B.	C.	D.
Newspaper Medical Services Wholesale, Retail Outlets Product Markets Commercial Transportation	Decline in some or all small center functions	Residential housing Interstitual business development Decentralized retail development	Reestablishment of population threshholds for service functions Community paper, Business and Commercial entities,etc.

modern highway facilities may contribute to commuting while simultaneously improving assess which may result in expansion of the recreation industry in an area. The growth of recreation related facilities, such as lakes and reserviors may attract both retirement migrant s and young families. These factors in concert may combine to provide more jobs in tourison, in small process-based manufacturing in towns and villages, and by broad increases in the service sector of the economy. The influx of people into areas for noneconomic reasons may stimulate economic development.

Among the more salient factors in recent population trends are the following.

1) Rural Industrialization

Decentralization of manufacturing and the increase in employment and trade and service producing industries, which have heightened the capability of rural areas to retain as well as attract people, has been particularly evident in the South.[120] Industry appears to be a major factor in the growth of Mississippi counties.[121] Industrial growth is positively associated with area population growth.[122]

2) Differential Motivational Base for Migration

Opportunity for actualization of residential preferences in interaction with quality of life-related place utilities may provide key elements of explanation for the population revival of certain areas of nonmetropolitan America.[123] A number of studies have indicated a large reservoir of potential migrants with preferences for rurally based amenities.[124] Structural changes in keeping with the progress of an urban-industrial state and the higher levels of living and the broadening distribution it provides may permit what Goldstein has expressed as an "emphasis on quality of life as opposed to more strictly economic considerations...in the decision to move and in the choice of residence."[125]

While such potentially influential factors as climate or residential and neighborhood amenities have not been ignored, the various cultural "pull" factors have generally receded in importance when viewed against the evidence for the significance of income and employment factors. If there has been a generally acknowledged and accepted principle migration behavior it it has been that migration decisions have largely been dependent on job opportunities,[126] although it has generally been recognized that migration decisions take place in a broader social framework than a "mechanical reaction to a combination of poor conditions at home and employment opportunities elsewhere."[127]

The recent "demographic revival of nonmetropolitan territory" and the post-1970 "new migration" of rural or outlying area population renascence appear suggestive that the "usual emphasis on economic determinants of migration may be less applicable for this migration stream."[128] The pattern of population movement since 1970 appears to reflect the implementation of a preference for rural or small town residence apart from the improvement in economic conditions which makes such moves possible.[129] Beale feels that the nation may have advanced into a new stage of demographic transition wherein "general affluence, low total population growth, easy transportation and communication, modernization of rural life, and urban population massings so large that they diminish the advantages of urban life, may make a downward shift to small communities both feasible and desirable."[130]

3) Exurban Development Resulting from Transportation Improvements

Faulkinberry has described the new pattern of movement "as better thought of as an exurbanization than a deurbanization trend... a fanning out of residences around population centers, not an abandonment of them."[131] Well developed inter-community all-weather highways permits absorption of an increased labor force without significantly without requiring residential development in immediate proximity to population centers.[132]

Williams and Sofranko have described this development as "supersuburbanization resulting from transportation improvements."[133] Expansion of larger metropolitan areas is a viable factor in the population growth in some areas of Mississippi: "Memphis is pushing into DeSoto and Marshall Counties and Jackson into Madison and Rankin Counties. The Mississippi Gulf Coast not only has a thriving urban community of its own but experiences the spill-out from the New Orleans and Mobile urban centers."[134]

Whether such dispersion is regarded as decentralization or as expanded urban concentration depends on the range of distance by which the urban area is conceptualized. Faulkinberry suggests that perhaps the present statistical concept of SMSAs should be extended so that they reflect more realistically the concept of population centers.[135]

According to Long, to some considerable extent current population deconcentration trends can "be laid to an ever extending communication and transportation network which makes distance much less of an inhibiting factor than previously. Much of the concentration of population around transportation nodes in both large and small towns which was necessary when transportation and communication systems were less extensive and less technologically advanced is no longer needed. As a result, both industries and population are free to disperse in pursuit of the advantages of less densely utilized land."[136]

Phase D (Figure 8) or a rural area renasance stage may be prompted by spillover effects of urban center expansion (simultaneous centralization-decentralization) but also by the "reduced contraints of distance which not only permit the reallocation of industry and other sources of jobs to nonmetropolitan areas but also permit those persons who work at these jobs to live at considerable distances from their work."[137] Long identifies this as expanded form of suburbanization or "nonmetropolitan 'suburbanization' in which many workers live in nonmetropolitan areas and commute not only to jobs in metropolitan areas but also to agricultural and nonagricultural jobs in nonmetropolitan areas themselves."[138] Apparently, "decentralization of manufacturing, and since 1970 the increase in employment and trade and service producing industries has improved the capability of rural areas to retain as well as attract people. This has been particularly evident in nonmetropolitan areas of the South."[139]

4) Area Amenities and Attractions

The two general types of amenities of a) development of retirement[140] and recreational areas and b) the growth of educational institutions are frequently listed components in the complex of significant factors in current population trends. The conspicuous growth in Mississippi college and university towns has reportedly prompted some observers to call higher education "the best 'industry' of all."[141]

Beale notes that the expansion of State higher educational institutions has been substantial since the end of World War II as "many have evolved from teachers colleges into major institutions"[142] which "has made the affected towns more attractive for other development."[143] Junior Colleges and vocational schools as well may have "permitted people to attend local schools instead of going elsewhere and have made the area more desirable to industry."[144]

5) Demographic Retention Factors

Several demographic factors may be identified which would promote an increased population retention. Even if predominantly agricultural counties do not absorb their natural increase, the farm population has probably been depleted to the point that the potential for continued heavy out-migration due to agriculture decline is not likely to be as significant in the future. The same factors responsible for return migration as they relate to the comparative increase in desirability to southern as opposed to northern residence may foster an increased retention of blacks. It may even be that the cumulative effects of past migration to the South may facilitate new in-migration as the very fact of movement creates social eddies which have a magnetic effect on population growth.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION GROWTH

Mississippi's rurality is a major factor in the state's comparatively low ranking on per capita income.[145] It is also a major factor in the desirability of Mississippi in terms of its favorable quality-of-life. The development ethic generally emphasizes such factors as a) a need to industrialize and b) the desirability of population growth. Each is corollary to the other, and both appear to be regarded as components of the quest for a greater intensity of economic-commercial-business activity.

One commentator, noting that "widespread industrial development across the state will require that somehow...provincialism characteristic of many communities must be overcome," simultaneously observes that "hardly anyone lives in a town in Mississippi which he does not regard as a 'great little community,' but this claim will do little toward attracting quality industry."[146] The question would seem pertinent that if "some communities seem to feel that the local situation is 'so great' that its inhabitants really do not wish new industry to come in...,"[147] why is the quest for industrialization seemingly such as extensive commitment?[148] Secondly, why is industrialization a major motif for as much apparent effort as it recieves, if there exists a hesitant if not reluctant "attitude [which] is much more prevalent than is generally recognized."[149] A corollary question that would seem to arise of whether there is a differential perception of interests and whether the pro-industrial faction has been more successful in mobilizing organizational effort and opinion because of either a differential intensity of interest or of a differential access to power.

There appears to be very little questioning[150] of the assumption that modern man becomes wiser or happier in proportion to his encapsulation in interdependence in the commercial-business-industrial ethic about him.[151] Yet, there may be considerable wisdom within the *weltanschauung* which does not wish "industry to 'pollute' the... whatever...and disturb the going wage structure or crowd the streets, *et cetera*."[152]

The *reason d'etre* for the industrialization quest apparently, is to foster "economic development" or "amelioration of the state's economy," which malady seems crystalized in the "unfortunate fact that the per capita income for the state is the lowest in the nation..."[153] The economic development cure appears to involve a "push toward the tertiary stage[154] of economic development, because the high income states are clearly so catergorized."[155]

> The fact that there are no sizeable cities in the state has impeded the development of the higher paving service functions

> Per-capita income in general is higher in urban areas than in rural areas. In Mississippi, there are no towns of 10,000 or over population in any of the twenty lowest per-capita income counties...a sizeable majority of the top twenty counties have towns of over 10,000. Mississippi is essentially a rural state, thus, perhaps explaining to some degree its low income status...service firms tend to thrive better in larger cities, and these enterprises tend to pay higher salaries and wages than primary and secondary industries.[156]

It might be noted that these costlier services involve a cost to someone. If the low income population of an area are the criteria of judgment, it should be recognized that raising area per-capita income may not be of assistance to them. Although it may increase the economic activity of an area, it also may involve lost opportunity costs and infliction of higher prices upon lower income persons

Often assessments of industry's impact fail to trace the distribution of income among the population. Summers and Lang state that studies which have examined these factors suggest "that certain sections of the population receive no benefits from industrial development. Indeed, for groups such as the elderly and blacks, industrialization often has negative effects. As the community's standards of living rises, prices go up and the purchasing power of these disadvantaged groups decreases." They note that some impact studies have suggested that "the people who bear the cost of the development (by increased taxes for land development, for example) may not be the same people who will capture the benefits and in fact they may find themselves in a worse relative position after development than before."[157]

The Question of Low Wage Industry

It seems to be an accepted sequitur among many that since Mississippi is a low income state, attraction of high wage industry is the appropriate response.[158] For example, it has been suggusted that "to the extent that a sizable group of minimum wage type labor is imported, the community must pay a higher price than the benefits would bring."[159] The implication appears to be that "efforts to attract higher wage paying industry"[160] are therefore in order. The rationale for devaluating low wage industry is not quiet clear,[161] particularly when considered in context with other stated priority concerns such as the provision of day care centers which "if provided would permit many women to join the work force."[162]

This allegedly "would raise the per-capita income and...get them off the tax payers' backs."[163] However, employment opportunity which is now going unfulfilled because of absence of tax payer provisions for baby sitters or which would remove "these people"[164] from welfare rolls probably, of necessity, would have to be low-wage industry to be able to utilize the skill levels available.

It should be recognized that increased area income may not be indicative of any generalized improvement in area quality of life. Nor is increased economic activity necessarily a desiridatum unless its the economic activity itself which is valued. If human interests are at stake, at least some hesitant caveat is in order before regarding influx of population into an industrializing area, including high income persons, as desirable because it increases the level or intensity or economic and commercial activity.[165]

If the needs of the population of an area are the criteria of judgment, then to whatever extent employment opportunities are needed in an area the need is for the kind of jobs which are capable of utilizing the labor force available. Whateverelse high wage industry may be, and is desirable it may be for brokers of capital or for interests having items to sell at that high prices, Colberg has cautioned that it is "truly labor intensive rather than human capital intensive industry is needed by many communities."[166]

There are other positive things to be said for low wage industry. Impact studies have shown that the amount of jobs created for local people in a rural poverty area depends, among other things, on the skill level demanded by the plant. The corollary of this is that low-wage labor-intensive plants (often condemned for their low pay) have much higher local employment multiplier effects because of the labor supply.[167] Low wage factory employment has enabled families to remain on the land in their native communities while enjoying the stability and increased family income from factory employment precisely because it has been the kind of low wage industry that employed ordinary labor at rates below that of industries where skill requirements are high. Furthermore, these low wage firms have had some influence on attitudes and the "gaining acceptance of industrial employment and its routine of regular hours..."[168] Till feels that the importance of the 'second owner effect' in raising families from poverty even when wages are low, and the desire of some rural residents to remain where they are, makes very questionable the quick dismissal of rural industry as cheap, essentially exploitative and hence implicitly worthless from a welfare point of view."[169]

Importation of high wage industry for the purpose of achieving high wage industry runs dangerously close to making the level of economic activity in an area as the overarching value with the human equation becoming subservient to economic. Actually, there is no "area" interest to be served except the interest of individuals and families. It is likely that persons who speak of area development do partially if not largely have the human equation in view in some derivative sense. However there is probably a tendency for the industrial ethic to begin from an assumption that a high level of economic activity is desirable and to derive policy primarily on the basis of whatever appears to best serve this overarching objective.

This perspective, or what the Agrarians were wont to style as the gospel of industrialism, becomes its own zeitgest. An illustrative outcome of the high -wages-promote-intensity-of-economic-activity, therefore high wage industry is desirable, and, as its corollary, that tertiary economic structure is desirable because this tends to involve corralling wages which increase area per capita incomes, is that high wage industrial evangelization may be uncritically adopted as its own overriding validating criteria.

Perhaps it is not necessarily an act of wisdom to cast away moorings to a simpler economy in favor of industrial organization.[170] There may well be, as the Agrarians argued there was, some detrimental effect to the amenities of life under a top-heavy industrial organization of society which forces the whole thrust of society toward the self-serving task of keeping the machinery turning -- producing, selling, consuming -- in incessant flux and cycle but with lost sense of vocation and attendant decay of sensibility.[171]

Comparative per-capita income is not necessarily an entirely satisfactory proxy for quality of life. Ultimately, the important factor is that of the differential between income and the costs of amenities and necessaries.[172] Lower price levels may compensate for the lower income levels in the South.[173] Also, "psychic income" of such non-market factors as "good climate, recreation, scenic attractions, a slower pace and more relaxed life-style are...important in measuring total well-beling."[174]

EFFECT OF FUTURE TRENDS

The foregoing trends are likely to continue to effect the course of population development in Mississippi. The development consequences of these population trends will doubtless vary from region to region within states. It is possible that the compositional changes may be even more significant than numeric aspects.[175]

The population resurgence in traditionally stable or declining communities (Phase "C" in figure 8, p.147) may result in area renanscence with notable development consequences, such as the purchase and restoration of small retail establishments, the development of educational. cultural, and community facilities, or publishing, and skilled craft activities, much of which are consistent with the experience of long settled residents. To the extent rural area population renascence is due to efforts of migrants to enhance their quality-of-life rather than a response to economic requisites, the newcomers may be leaders in efforts to return to a more conspicously rural orientation. Ploch, drawing on a study of Maine urban-rural migrants, concluded that "They are going to do their best to maintain the rural atmosphere and the natural beauty of the environment which attracted them to Maine. They are much more likely to be concerned with the preservation of environmental integrity and the slow pace of rural life than they are with economic/industrial expansion. They will resist acts and policies which countervene their value positions."[176]

Potentials for Cultural Conflict

It also been suggested that newcomers may want to limit growth, while the leadership of the community, paticularly that represented by the Chamber of Commerce, will want to foster development.[177] This has been expressed in the notion that each in-migrant wants to be the last new resident in an area.[178]

There may be an increased potential for certain forms of life style conflict if the demographic characteristics and life style concerns of in-migrants in developing areas differs from established community norms.[179] For example, if the in-migrant families are composed of relatively over-educated persons concentrated in managerial and professional occupations normative differences could present potential conflicts over institutional policy. Demographic change could be a factor in struggles involving noneconomic belief systems, or what Page and Clelland describe as the "politics of life cycle concern" or "status politics,"through struggle for protection and dominance between "Cultural Modernists" and "Cultural Fundamentalists."[182]

Some states have been scenes of conflicts between recent in-migrants over educational policy with the in-migrants appearing to "support modern and progressive educational methods and practices" which reflect "liberal policies" as opposed to a "conservative position."[183] Since "a style of life can be maintained or propogated only to the extent that its adherents exercise some control over the means of socialization and social intercourse," it is understandable that educational policy may present itself as an arena of potential life style conflict.[184] Furthermore, control of school policy is not only a major goal of cultural modernists, but often they have been largely successful in setting policy. As Page and Clelland explain, the

> ... political structure[185] has allowed a "cultural minority" of "cosmopolitans" to exert disproportionate influence in setting school policy. Such cultural modernists can be elected in issueless school board contests on the basis of their skilled use of such resources as time, community prestige, and verbal and organizational abilities. They can then, without conflict and even without self-consciousness, "subvert" or change educational

> policy (expropriate the means of symbolic production) in order to socialize youth to their own construction of social reality, to their own life style. This style of life is largely an adaption to affluence, rational large-scale organization, and a service economy.[184]

Other potential conflicts have been seen in the possibility that newcomers might seek garbage collection, water and sewer, and other facilities equivalent to those in urban areas, thereby inflicting tax increases for their provision. The fact that migrants to more rural areas may be moving in a conscious effort to effectuate rural life styles as opposed to having been driven for economic reasons "could lead the inmigrants and settled persons with similar orientations into conflict with those holding expanionsist, modernizing points of view."[187]

Achievement of Growth, Urbanization, and Industry

Communities seeking industry and/or growth should recognize that at best neither is everywhere and always an unmixed blessing. One side of the ladder, and the perspective which appears to be the "official" view as reflected in the general tenor of community development material, emphasizes that migration reverse from out-movement to in-movement, population retention, and new growth will represent "new lifeblood and leadership for local institutions and "an improved economy as the tax base grows and demand for local business increases."[188] Limited industrial development can aid in increasing area per capita income.[189] However, urban expansion, metropolitanization, and industrialization and their accoutrements is not always and necessarily of desirable consequence.

Liner and Lynch note that while and local governments have traditionally attempted to expand job opportunities and generate more income in communities by attracting industry, this is a policy which involves "many ramifications and trade-offs in terms of environmental considerations and growth policy."[190] Some communities have found it desirable to discontinue an emphasis on growth. For example, Florida emphasized growth in tourism, recreation, retirement and home construction." However, more recently, allegedly to deal with its rapid population growth and supposedly protect its fragile natural systems, during the past few years Florida has enacted major growth management legislation.[191]

If Mississippi can avoid population growth and general urbanization it may be able to avoid some of the urban induced concomitants such as runaway taxation, congestion, price raising demands for land use and land speculation, escalted welfare and other marauding through governmental and private rapacity, and the horror of "direct controls on land use ... necessary to retain farmland" such as "public purchase of development rights in combination with differential assessment and other incentives to continue farming."[192]

Urban and/or general population growth may produce disproportionate increases in external costs in such forms as congestion, air pollution, noise pollution, crime,[193] zoning and related regulations and harassments, and increased clamour for social services. While "most Americans are recognizing that Bigger is not always Better, southern promoters continue hawking development."[195] Jackson, says Willie Morris, has changed from a "sleepy state capitol" to a city which is "being devastated by the accoutrments which lie at the edge of America's civilization."[196]

Differential Impact of Development

Numerous researchers have documented the role of small towns as retirement havens where the aged are able to take advantage of a lower cost of living.[197] Studies of the consequences of drastic alterations of the economic structure of small communities on persons who have sought economic sanctuary there, as occurs when a service center for an agricultural winterland develops a large industrial complex, have indicated that the elderly are particularly vulnerable to being adversely affected by construction of an industrial complex.[198]

The belief that new industry will substantially improve the fiscal burden of many nonmetropolitan communities is often erroneous even under conditions in which the industrial diffusion brings new employment and population growth into an area. One study of eight plants in five Kentucky towns found that the new plants produced property taxes in excess of that yielded by the property previously in only one-fourth of the cities examined. Secondary impacts, where there is a tendency to assume net benefits on the basis of a multiplier effect, corroborated the negative impact of the new industry.

Besides the cost of attracting industry, the host community must also accomodate the cost of a growing population. If a new industry penalizes a community through in-migration, there is likely to be an increased demand on local government for educational. health, fire, police, and general services. Summers and Lang's examination of twelve case studies showed substantial increases in costs of community services to residents with the arrival of new industry in eleven instances. They felt that "while public officials often overestimate their communities growth capacities, they underestimate the capacity of existing utilities and services to accomodate development. The result is a major outlay of public funds that increase the per capita cost of public services."[199]

Longitudinal Demographic Impact

The impact of migration on the size and composition of population results not only from the net volume of migration into an area, but also to the contribution that migrants make to the natural increase of an area. If the age composition of in-migrants is skewed toward "young adults" this may be an imposition of considerable magnitude. Furthermore, the indirect impact of migration extends multigenerationally due to reproduction. Analysis of the social and economic costs of migration should take into account the medium and long range demographic changes that may be induced by migration.[100]

Predictions about future trends are difficult because these trends are dependent on the interrelationship of factors whose components are subject to change. However, it seems reasonable to predict that the metropolitan regions in the South and in Mississippi will continue to grow even through many cities in some areas of the nation are losing population.[101] And, given the change factors heretofore discussed, it would seem reasonable to expect the patterns of turnaround from loss to growth or decreased loss to continue to prevail in applicable counties.

SUMMARY

Even though Mississippi's population was of stable size during 1940-1970, there were notable changes in terms of the state's population composition and distribution. These include changes in epidemological patterns, in age and ethnic composition, and urban growth and rural decline.

Since 1970, Mississippi has shown signs of incipient population growth, including growth of urban centers as well as a trend toward general population turnaround in some areas which have characterstically been areas of notable out-migration and population decrease.

The search for industry, population growth, and increased income is an interrelated composite goal which has occupied a considerable amount of effort in Mississippi. On occassion each of these factors may harmonize efficaciously with community needs. In other instances the results of development is not always positive and may prove less than beneficial to some segments of the population.

PART C
A DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT OF THE MISSISSIPPI POOR

CHAPTER SIX

DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POOR

A. ECOLOGICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

Poverty is plural. The poor are not a single class with an homogenous set of interests and characteristics except in deficiency of income. They consist of a great many groups with divergent tastes and needs. Statistics at best can only delineate the bare parameters of poverty. However, isolation of categories of the population who are most severely afflicted by poverty has major implications for the allocation of anti-poverty resources.

The South contained almost one-half of the nation's poor in 1969 as measured by the SSA poverty thresholds. Some two-fifths of the poor were children under 18, two thirds were white, and one-fifth were over 65. The State with the largest number of poor families was Texas (413,000 or 14.6%), while the State with the largest frequency of incidence of poverty was Mississippi (28.9% or 154,000 families).

Family poverty in the United States decreased from 18.4% to 10.7% between 1959 and 1969. The proportion of families in poverty in Mississippi decreased from nearly one-half in 1959 to under one-third in 1969 and to one-fifth in 1975. However, Mississippi continued to have the highest frequency of incidence of family and individual poverty in 1975 (Table 1).

TABLE 1

FAMILIES AND PERSONS WITH INCOMES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, UNITED STATES, SOUTH, AND MISSISSIPPI, 1959, 1969, AND 1975

	PERCENT BELOW POVERTY LEVEL					
	FAMILIES			PERSONS		
	1959	1969	1975	1959	1969	1975
United States	18.4	10.7	9.0	22.1	14.7	11.4
South	30.1	16.2	12.1	35.6	20.3	15.3
Mississippi	47.9	28.9	20.4	54.5	35.4	26.1

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1975, p. 400; Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 112 (June, 1978). pp. 11, 35, 179, and Series P-20, No. 334 (January, 1979), p. 67.

The reduction in poverty in Mississippi 1969 - 1975 was greater among severely poor persons (-30.1%) and families (-34.2%) than among the poor (reduction circa 21%) or near poor (reducation circa 16%) persons and families (Table).

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF POOR, SEVERELY POOR,[1] AND NEAR POOR,[2] MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	TOTAL				PERCEN CHANGE
	1969		1975		
CATEGORY	NO.	%	NO.	%	1969-1975
Poor					
Families	154,254	28.9	122,000	20.4	-20.9
Persons	766,605	35.4	607,000	26.1	-20.8
Severely Poor					
Families	112,460	21.0	74,000	12.4	-34.2
Persons	572,355	26.5	400,000	17.2	-30.1
Near Poor					
Families	193,409	36.2	163,000	27.3	-15.7
Persons	932,575	43.1	787,000	33.9	-15.6

[1] Income less than 75% of poverty level.

[2] Income less than 125% of poverty level.

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics Final Report PC (1) - C26, Mississippi, p. 26-168; CPR. No. 112.

Ethnicity and Poverty

The frequency of incidence of poverty among blacks in Mississippi (64.9% in 1969; 50.3% in 1975) is greater than among whites (17.9% in 1969, 12.7% in 1975). Blacks made up about the same population of the total poor in Mississippi (about two-thirds) in 1975 as in 1969 (Table 3). The numerical reductions in overty during 1969-1975 was over twice as great for blacks (circa 105,000) than for whites (circa 52.000), while the percentage reduction was substantially the same for both races (about 22%).

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF TOTAL AND PERCENT INCIDENCE, PERSONS IN POVERTY, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

CATEGORY	NUMBER 1969	NUMBER 1975	% OF TOTAL 1969	% OF TOTAL 1975	% OF INCIDENCE 1969	% OF INCIDENCE 1975
Total*	766,605	607,000	100.0%	100.0%	35.4	26.1
White	242,628	190,000	31.6	31.3	17.9	12.7
Black	520,746	415,000	67.9	68.4	64.9	50.3

*Includes nonwhites other than blacks

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970; CPR, No. 112 (June, 1978)

Table 4, which shows the number and percent of poor, near poor, and severely poor by race in Mississippi in 1969 and 1975, indicates that a higher proportion of black poor than of the white poor are severely poor. In 1975, some 66.7% of the black poor, contrasted to 50% of the white poor, were severely poor. This compares with approximately two-thirds of all white poor and three-fourths of all black poor in 1969. For blacks, as well as for whites, there has been a decrease not only in the proportions of population classified as poor, but in the proportion of the poor who are severely poor as well.

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF POOR, SEVERELY POOR AND NEAR POOR, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

CATEGORY	White 1969 No.	White 1969 %	White 1975 No.	White 1975 %	Black 1969 No.	Black 1969 %	Black 1975 No.	Black 1975 %
POOR								
Families	59,525	15.9	46,000	10.8	94,148	59.2	75,000	44.8
Persons	242,628	17.9	190,000	12.7	520,746	64.9	415,000	50.3
SEVERELY POOR								
Families	39,336	10.5	23,000	5.5	72,692	45.7	50,000	29.8
Persons	162,823	12.1	110,000	7.4	407,132	50.7	287,000	34.7
NEAR POOR								
Families	82,065	21.9	68,000	15.9	110,676	69.6	91,000	56.0
Persons	329,348	24.3	274,000	18.4	599,480	74.6	508,000	61.6

Source: U. S. Census of Population, 1970; CPR, No. 112.

Children in Poverty

Table 5 compares the total and school age populations of Mississippi and the United States as percentages of population by specified economic measures. Nearly 41% of the school age children in Mississippi in 1970 were poor, compared to about 15% for the U. S. as a whole. Some 75.5% of the children in Mississippi in 1970 lived in families with incomes of less than 200% of the poverty level, compared to 42% for the rest of the country. For all measures shown, Mississippi had the highest proportion of total and of school age population falling below these measures of any State in the nation.

TABLE 5

PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION AND AGE 5-17 IN FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW SPECIFIED MULTIPLES OF THE POVERTY INDEX, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1975

	75%	100%	125%	150%	200%
Total					
U.S.	9.5	13.9	19.0	24.3	36.3
Mississippi	27.3	35.3	43.9	51.2	64.4
School Age					
U.S.	15.2	10.3	21.1	27.5	42.1
Mississippi	32.2	40.9	51.6	59.4	72.5

Source: U.S. Department HEW, The Measure of Poverty (April, 1976), pp. 104-130.

TABLE 6

POOR CHILDREN, AGE 5-17, UNITED STATES AND MISSISSIPPI, 1970 AND 1975

	1970		1975	
	Number (1,000)	Percent	Number (1,000)	Percent
United States	7,700	14.8	7,131	14.5
Mississippi	262	41.6	194	32.6

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce News Release G 77-26. (February 28, 1977), p. 5.

The total number of school age children in Mississippi during 1970-1975 decreased by 630,288 to 596,000, while the number of poor school aged children dropped from 261,679 to 194,340. While the total number of children ages 5-17 decreased by 5.5%, the number of poor children dropped by 26%. Nevertheless, Mississippi had the largest percentage of poor school age children of any State in the republic in 1975.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES

County Distribution of Family Poverty

Figure 1 shows the estimated proportion of persons in poverty for Mississippi counties in 1975.[1] No county in Mississippi had a frequency of incidence of poverty in 1975 that was below the national rate of 11.4 in 1975.[2] Some eleven counties, principally in the northeast corner, the Gulf Coast, and the Jackson SMSA, had estimated proportions of less than 20% poor, while an equal number of counties (principally Delta area counties) were estimated to certain 40% or more poor.

Ecological Distribution of the Poor

Table 7 shows the proportion of poor families residing in Mississippi in 1970 according to residential distribution. The frequency of the incidence of family poverty was considerably higher for rural Mississippians (35.1%) than for their urban counterparts (21.2%). The rural population contained 55% of all income families but 67% of the poor families. The urban population contained 45% of the State's families of all income levels, but only one-third of the poor families. Thus, rural Mississippi contained the largest number as well as the largest proportion of the State's poor.

TABLE 7

FAMILIES LIVING IN POVERTY, BY GEOGRAPHIC AREA DISTRIBUTION, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	Poverty Families in Specified Geographic Area %	Percent all Families in State in Specified Areas	Percent of Total Poverty Families	Index of Difference
State	28.9	100%	100%	--
Urban[1]				
Total	21.2	44.9	33.1	-11.8

Urbanized Areas[2]				
Total	16.0	14.5	8.2	-6.3
Central Cities	17.1	10.9	6.7	-4.2
Suburbs	12.5	3.6	1.5	-2.1
Urban Places				
2,500-10,000	24.8	10.7	9.2	-1.5
Above 10,000	23.2	19.8	15.9	-3.9
Rural				
Total	35.1	55.1	66.9	+11.8
Non-farm	35.0	43.0	52.2	+9.2
Farm	35.3	12.1	14.8	+2.7

---

[1] Population in places of 2,500 or more.

[2] Municipalities of 50,000 plus densely settled surrounding territory.

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970

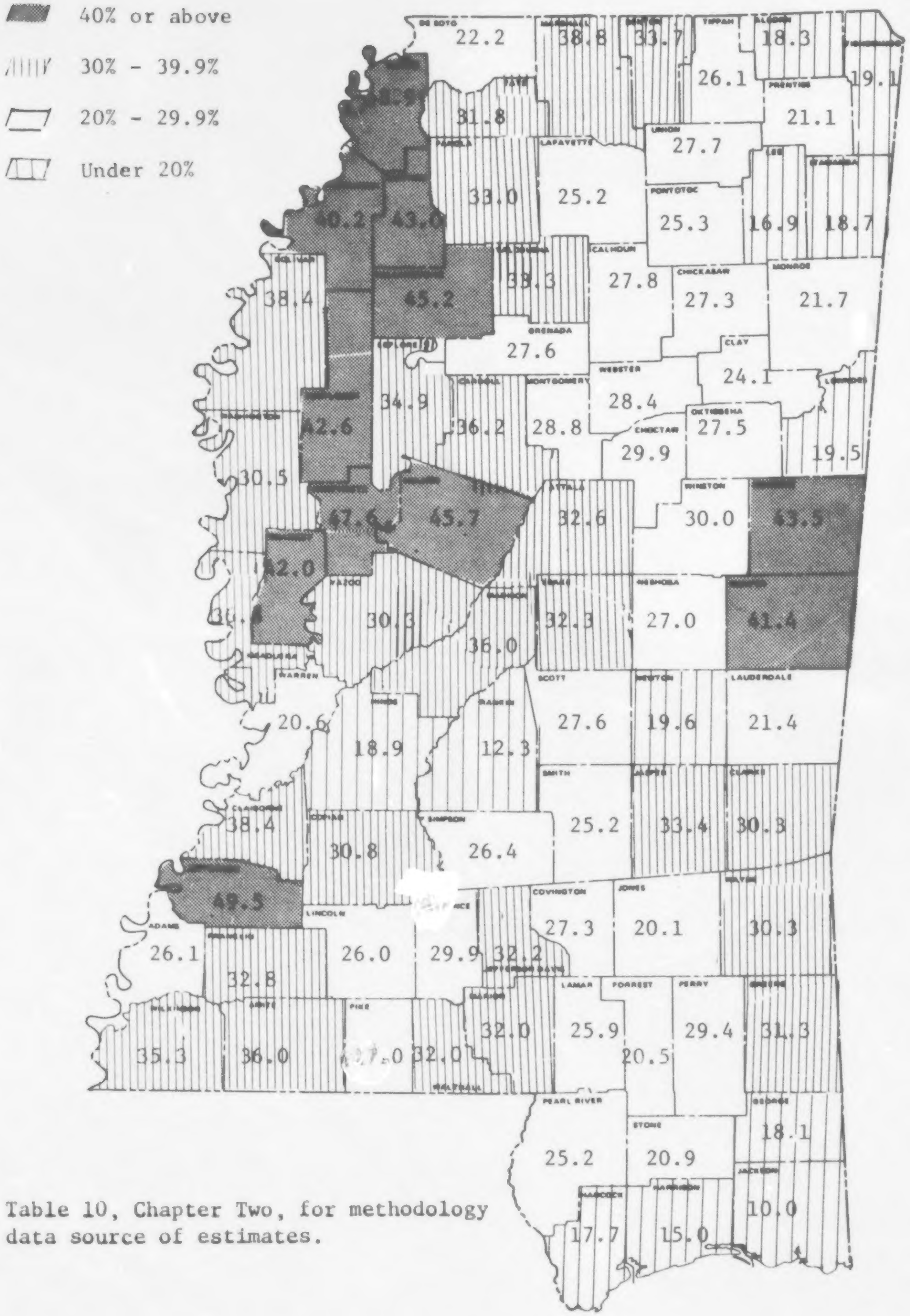
Reported family income divided by the corresponding applicable poverty threshold gives the ratio of family income to the poverty threshold. Table 8 shows the proportion of family members in families reporting incomes within the specified poverty ratios by residence and ethnicity. Some 31% of the members of black families in Mississippi in 1970 lived in families with reported 1969 incomes of less than one-half of the poverty threshold. The proportion of black family members exceeds the proportion of white counterparts at each category from the lowest rate (under .50 of the poverty threshold) through the near-poor category (income from 1.00 to 1.24 of the threshold). The proportion of black families reporting incomes of 1.25 to 1.49 of the poverty threshold exceeds the proportion of whites by a considerable margin. At each category above 1.50 of the threshold the proportion of whites exceeds the proportion of blacks by progressively increasing amounts.

In terms of residential distribution, the highest proportion of extreme poor (ratio under .50) is found among the rural farm population (20.1%). In terms of absolute numbers, however, the rural nonfarm population has the largest block of extreme poor (173,341), compared to 88,007 extreme poor urban residents (10%) in families and 40,937 extreme poor rural farm members of families.

FIGURE 1

ESTIMATED PERCENT OF POPULATION WITH INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL

1975



▨ 40% or above
▥ 30% - 39.9%
☐ 20% - 29.9%
▥ Under 20%
DE SOTO 22.2
MARSHALL 38.8
BENTON 33.7
TIPPAH 26.1
ALCORN 18.3
TISHOMINGO 19.1
TATE 31.8
PRENTISS 21.1
UNION 27.7
PANOLA 33.0
LAFAYETTE 25.2
LEE 16.9
ITAWAMBA 18.7
PONTOTOC 25.3
40.2
43.0
YALOBUSHA 33.3
CALHOUN 27.8
CHICKASAW 27.3
MONROE 21.7
BOLIVAR 38.4
45.2
GRENADA 27.6
CLAY 24.1
LEFLORE 34.9
CARROLL 36.2
MONTGOMERY 28.8
WEBSTER 28.4
OKTIBBEHA 27.5
LOWNDES 19.5
42.6
CHOCTAW 29.9
WASHINGTON 30.5
47.6
45.7
ATTALA 32.6
WINSTON 30.0
43.5
42.0
YAZOO 30.3
MADISON 36.0
LEAKE 32.3
NESHOBA 27.0
41.4
SHARKEY 30.4
ISSAQUENA
WARREN 20.6
SCOTT 27.6
NEWTON 19.6
LAUDERDALE 21.4
HINDS 18.9
RANKIN 12.3
SMITH 25.2
JASPER 33.4
CLARKE 30.3
CLAIBORNE 38.4
COPIAH 30.8
SIMPSON 26.4
49.5
COVINGTON 27.3
JONES 20.1
WAYNE 30.3
ADAMS 26.1
FRANKLIN 32.8
LINCOLN 26.0
LAWRENCE 29.9
JEFFERSON DAVIS 32.2
LAMAR 25.9
FORREST 20.5
PERRY 29.4
GREENE 31.3
WILKINSON 35.3
AMITE 36.0
PIKE 27.0
WALTHALL 32.0
MARION 32.0
PEARL RIVER 25.2
STONE 20.9
GEORGE 18.1
JACKSON 10.0
HANCOCK 17.7
HARRISON 15.0

See Table 10, Chapter Two, for methodology and data source of estimates.

TABLE 8

PERCENT OF FAMILY MEMBERS WITH INCOMES BY SPECIFIED RATIO TO POVERTY LEVELS, BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

RATIO	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	URBAN	RURAL NONFARM	RURAL FARM
Under .50	14.9	5.5	30.7	10.0	18.2	20.1
.50 to .74	10.0	4.7	19.1	7.4	12.0	12.0
.75 to .99	8.6	5.5	13.8	7.3	9.6	9.8
1.00 to 1.24	8.2	6.6	10.8	7.2	9.1	7.6
1.25 to 1.49	7.2	7.3	27.3	7.0	7.7	6.5
1.50 to 1.99	12.9	15.4	8.7	13.3	12.3	11.3
2.00 to 2.99	18.4	25.6	6.3	20.9	16.9	14.7
3.00 or more	19.6	29.3	3.2	26.8	13.3	17.9

Column Totals Circa 100%

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970, "Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi," PC (1)-D26, Table 207.

Table 9 looks at the proportion of poverty family members with specified ratios of income to the poverty threshold. At least forty percent of all members of the poor families living in Mississippi in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below .50 of the poverty threshold for all categories specified in Table 7 except the white poor. The white population had the largest proportion who were the closest to being nonpoor (35.4%) according to the poverty thresholds. This would indicate that not only was the incidence of poverty itself much greater among blacks, but that the severity was also greater among blacks.

TABLE 9

RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY THRESHOLD FOR MEMBERS OF POVERTY FAMILIES, BY RACE AND RESIDENCE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

ALL FAMILY MEMBERS	BELOW POVERTY LEVEL	RATIO OF INCOME TO POVERTY LEVEL*		
		UNDER .50	.50 to .74	.74 to .99
State	33.5	44.3	29.9	25.8
White	15.7	35.0	29.6	25.4
Black	63.6	48.2	30.0	21.7

Urban	24.7	40.6	29.8	29.8
Black	53.2	42.5	30.7	26.7
Rural Nonfarm	39.9	45.6	30.3	24.1
Black	70.5	50.9	29.8	19.3
Rural Farm	41.8	48.1	28.5	23.4
Black	70.2	51.9	28.8	19.3
Jackson SMSA	22.6	43.4	27.7	28.8
Black	49.2	44.6	28.2	27.2

*Percentages refer to total poverty families of applicable race/residence category.

Source: Computed from data in U.S.Bureau of the Census, 1970. "Detailed Characteristics, Mississippi, PC (1)-D26, Table 207.

Summary of Section A

1. Although the number and proportional incidence of family poverty in Mississippi decreased during 1969-1975, Mississippi continues to have the highest frequency of incidence of individual and family poverty of any state.

2. The incidence of poverty is more frequent among black than white Mississippians, and among unrelated than related persons.

3. Rural Mississippi contains the largest number of poor persons and the greatest frequency of incidence of poverty.

4. The number of school age poor (age 5-17) in Mississippi decreased by over 60,000 during 1969-1975; however, Mississippi continued to be the locus of the largest proportion of poor school age children of any state.

Section B, "Demographic Paramenters of Mississippi Poverty," focuses on such poverty related variables and characteristics as education, age, familial size and composition, and employment. Chapter VII takes "Agriculture and Rural Poverty" as its theme.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC PARAMETERS OF POVERTY IN MISSISSIPPI

This section draws attention to various parameters of poverty in terms of available secondary data which shed additional light on the characteristics and composition of the poor in Mississippi. For the most part, focus is placed on demographic variables such as age, education, familial status and composition, and labor force characteristics.

OCCUPATION, LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION, AND INCOME SOURCE

There is no getting around the fact that conditions which allow for maximum employment for those willing, capable, and desirous of working at wage-price-taxation levels which allow wage earners and their families to exist above the poverty level is a first preventive of as well as a first defense against poverty. In addition, such an environment is required in order to support the maximum delivery of social services and income transfers to those persons who, because of lack of skill or ability or because of mental, physical, or cultural incapacity, could not improve their economic status by paid employment even in an era of generally optimistic work potential for most persons desiring paid employment.

However, it needs to be recognized that employment itself does not guarantee an adequate income. A significant proportion of the poor are not poor because they are disabled, female heads of families, or unemployed. They are poor because they are employed at wages inadequate to raise them above the poverty line or because they are only irregularly employed.[3]

Poverty and Labor Force Participation

A considerably higher proportion of poor than all income families were headed by persons who were not members of the labor force (Table 10). The difference is particularly noticeable for families headed by males. In 19.9% of all income families in Mississippi in 1970 headed by a male, the head was not a member of the labor force. For poverty families, 44.5% of the male heads were not members of the labor force.

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILY HEADS WHO ARE NOT IN THE LABOR FORCE, ALL INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	PERCENT NOT IN LABOR FORCE	
	ALL INCOME FAMILIES	POVERTY FAMILIES
Total		
Total	23.9	48.2
Male Headed	19.9	44.5
Female Headed	49.9	58.5
White		
Total	19.9	54.5
Male Headed	17.3	51.8
Female Headed	47.5	66.7

Black		
Total	33.4	44.4
Male Headed	27.3	38.9
Female Headed	51.7	55.6

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970

Illustrative Interpretation: In 23.9% of all income families the family head was not a member of the labor force; the family head was not a member of the labor force in 48.2% of the poor families.

For all income families, a larger percentage of white than black family heads were not in the labor force. Among poverty families, however, a larger percentage of black than white family heads were not in the labor force. The smaller proportion of heads not in the labor force among black poverty families indicates that a somewhat larger proportion of both males and female headed families among poor blacks are found among the "working poor."[3] Of those not in the labor force, a higher percentage of blacks than whites were poor.

Table 11 provides a breakdown of family heads in the labor force by age for all income and poor families in Mississippi in 1970. A somewhat larger proportion of the heads of all income than poor families were in the labor force for all age levels for both males and females. There is a significant decline in labor force membership after age 65 for heads of both sexes. The causal factor cannot be determined from this data as to the proportion of older workers who have withdrawn from the labor force by choice or satisfactory retirement provisions and those who have withdrawn because of prejudice toward and discrimination against older workers. It has been suggested that labor force participation among older persons would be much greater if they were not discouraged from participation in the job market.

TABLE 11

PERCENT OF FAMILY HEADS IN LABOR FORCE, 1969

	Male		Female	
	All Income	Poor	All Income	Poor
Under 25	92.0	81.3	57.2	49.2
25-64	89.7	73.4	61.1	40.9
65 and Over	26.4	13.7	12.3	6.1
Related Children Under 6	--	--	53.6	49.0

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

While the prejudice against men is severe, it is possible that the constraints against middle age and older women are even greater. Robinson has noted that "one of the biggest problems older women face is combating the accepted stereotype of the woman after 50 as a dull, sexless, mentally and physically dead end kind of human being."[4] Re-entry of older women (which for employees seems to be age 35) into the labor force is hindered by derogatory stereotypes and other imposed social and psychological limitations.

Poverty and Occupation

Table 12 shows the percentage of poverty among Mississippi families according to sex, race, and occupation of family head. For male heads, the proportion of poor ranged from under 10% for professional, technical and kindred workers, managers and administrators, sales workers, and clerical and kindred workers to over 50% for male heads employed as farm laborers and foremen, service workers, and private household workers.

The incidence of reported poverty is in sharp contrast according to the sex of family heads. The incidence of poverty is greater among blacks than whites for all occupational categories. Among male headed families, the lowest incidence of poverty for both whites (3.3%) and blacks (9.8%) was found among persons in professional, technical and kindred occupations.

TABLE 12

PERCENT INCIDENCE OF POVERTY OF FAMILY HEADS IN SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	State		White		Black	
OCCUPATION	Male Heads	Female Heads	Male Heads	Female Heads	Male Heads	Female Heads
All occupations	16.6	46.0	8.1	20.7	44.0	69.3
Professional, Technical, Kindred	3.9	20.5	3.3	9.3	9.8	37.5
Managers, Administrators	5.0	18.3	4.3	13.3	18.6	39.7
Sales Workers	4.6	26.5	3.9	19.3	27.7	59.1
Clerical and Kindred	5.6	18.8	3.9	14.1	19.1	52.3
Craftsmen and Kindred	11.7	38.9*	7.2	24.0	36.0	61.3
Operatives (Except Transport)	17.5	38.9*	9.3	24.0	35.1	61.3
Transport Operatives	22.1	38.9*	11.2	24.0	40.5	61.3
Laborers (except farm)	36.4	51.0	19.9	34.8	46.9	62.7
Farmers, farm managers	32.6	55.5#	23.1	39.0	68.0	59.3

Farm laborers and foreman	65.4	55.5#	34.1	39.0	78.6	59.3
Service workers	55.4	60.8	8.5	36.6	39.6	71.8
Private Household Workers	55.9	81.1	12.2	47.0	60.6	82.4
Head Unemployed	40.1	77.2	21.2	44.5	65.6	87.0
Head not in labor force	54.6	68.0	42.7	47.4	76.3	83.1

*Craftsmen and kindred, operatives, and transport combined. Combinations made separately for female heads for each racial category.

#Farm workers category inclusive for female heads.

Source: Computed from data in U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Poverty and Source of Income

TABLE 13

PERCENT OF 1969 FAMILY INCOME RECEIVED FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES, ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES, BY RACE OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI

	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
SOURCE	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR
Earnings	90.6	68.3	91.4	60.4	86.4	72.5
Social Security	3.9	17.9	3.4	26.1	6.9	13.5
Public Assistance	1.0	9.6	0.4	6.8	4.2	11.1
Other	4.4	4.1	4.8	6.4	2.5	2.9

Source: U.S. Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Mississippi, (PC (1))-C26, Table 212.

Table 13 shows that earnings were the most significant source of income for both the white and black population, with the latter receiving a somewhat larger proportion of total income from sources other than wage, salary, or self-employment income. The importance of transfer payments in maintaining the economic viability of poor families may be seen by comparing the sources of income of Mississippi families with those whose 1969 incomes were below the poverty line. About two-thirds of the income of poor families was derived from earnings (91.3% for whites, 72.5% for blacks). The significance of social security benefits for Mississippi's poor is readily apparent in that 17.9% of the aggregate income of Mississippi's poor families was derived from social security payments.

A major racial difference may be noted by contrasting shares of social security and public assistance payments received by different racial categories. Wheras social security payments made up over one-fourth (26.1%) of the cash income of Mississippi's poor white families in 1969, such payments accounted for only about one-half as much of the cash income of poor black families (13.5%).

The original Social Security Act did not cover agricultural or domestic workers, occupational categories in which many aged blacks were employed during their working life. Although the Social Security Act was subsequently changed to cover workers in these occupations, the fact that many aged blacks spent their working life in occupations that were not previuosly enrolled in the social security program probably accounts for the discrepancy between the proportions of poor white and black persons receiving social security income.

TABLE 14

PERCENT OF FAMILIES RECEIVING INCOME FROM SPECIFIED SOURCES, 1969, ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
Source	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR	TOTAL	POOR
Earnings	88.3	68.8	90.0	58.1	84.5	75.6
Social Security	22.8	35.1	20.9	42.1	27.1	30.8
Public Assistance	11.1	27.5	5.2	17.3	24.8	33.9
Other	17.6	9.9	21.5	14.2	8.3	7.1

Source: Same as Table 13.

Public welfare in the form of social security in providing income support in retirement or other avenue of qualification "is more important as an antipoverty mechanism than any other single public income program,"[6] although the degree of protection extended is not equally effective for all. Many beneficiaries who have no other resources live in poverty, though undoubtedly better off than they would be otherwise. Also, the separate household among beneficiaries made possible by social security income may allow the aged person a preferred choice other than dependence. Thus, what is a desirable effect from the individual point of view may increase the number of persons below poverty.[7] Taussig has suggested that the AFDC and OAA components of the Social Security Act of 1935 have, in the intervening three decades, "apparently financed a dramatic revolution in the American family structure" and led to the "isolation of new, virtually seperate sub-societies" in the form of persons age sixty-five or worse and mothers with dependent children, a large proportion of whom are black.[8]

POVERTY AND FATHERLESS FAMILIES

Fatherless Families in Mississippi

Nearly 58% of the female headed families in Mississippi in 1970 were poor in 1969 Table 15). For whites, 14.3% of the male headed families, contrasted to 33.7% of the female headed families, were poor. Over one-half of the male headed black families were poor (53.2%); over three-fourths of the female headed black families were poor (77.2%).

TABLE 15

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
Total	28.9%	15.9%	59.2%
Male Headed	24.3%	14.3%	53.2%
Female Headed	57.9%	33.7%	77.2%

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Nearly 87% of all families in Mississippi in 1970 were headed by a male compared to 73% of the poor families. Whereas 13.4% of all income families Table 16), and only 7.9% of non-poor families were headed by a female, 26.9% of the poor families were female headed. Nearly one-third (32.7%) of the poor black families were headed by a femal

TABLE 16

ALL INCOME AND POOR FAMILIES BY RACE AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
ALL FAMILIES						
Total	534,444	100.0	374,229	100.0	159,070	100.0
Male Headed	462,704	86.6	342,544	91.5	119,108	74.8
Female Headed	71,740	13.4	31,685	8.5	39,892	25.1

POOR FAMILIES						
Total	154,254	100.0	59,525	100.0	94,148	100.0
Male Headed	112,683	73.1	48,852	82.1	63,348	67.3
Female Headed	41,571	26.9	10,673	17.9	30,800	32.7

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Persons in Poverty by Sex of Head

About one-fourth (26.7%) of all poor persons living in families lived in a female headed family. Whereas some one-third of all persons living in families in Mississippi in 1970 reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level, almost two-thirds of those persons living in female headed families were poor (Table 17).

TABLE 17

POVERTY STATUS OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, PERCENT OF TOTAL, AND PERCENT INCIDENCE BY FAMILY HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

CATEGORY	NUMBER	% OF TOTAL	% INCIDENCE
Total	681,754	100.0%	33.5%
Male Headed	499,950	73.3%	28.5%
Female Headed	181,804	26.7%	65.0%

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Of the 681,754 Mississippians living in poverty families in 1970, nearly one half of this amount (48.6%) lived in a family headed by a black male. More than one-fifth (21.6%) lived in families headed by a black female. Almost one-fourth (24.4%) lived in a family headed by a white male, while only 5% lived in families headed by a white female. By contrast, only 17.5% of all persons in families lived in a family headed by a black male.

TABLE 18

PERCENT OF PERSONS IN POVERTY FAMILIES, ALL INCOME FAMILIES AND NON-POVERTY FAMILIES, BY STATUS OF FAMILY HEAD AND, RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	MALE HEADED		FEMALE HEADED	
INCOME CATEGORY*	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
Total Persons in Poverty Families 681,754 (100%)	24.4	48.6	5.0	21.6
Total Persons in All Income Families 2,032,362 (100%)	58.0	27.9	4.7	9.0
Total Persons in Non-Poverty Families 1,350,608 (100%)	75.1	17.5	4.5	2.7

*Totals include small number or Spanish speaking persons.

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Changes 1969-1975

The 1970s have seen a tremendous increase in the number of female heads of household. The major factor in the accelerated growth of female headed families has been due to divorce.[9] During 1969-1975 the number of persons living in male headed families increased by 15%, while the number of persons living in female headed families increased by 33%. There was a larger increase in nonpoor female headed families (69%) than in poor female headed families (14%). There was a large decrease (38%) in the number of poor residing in male headed families (Table 19).

TABLE 19

NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN NUMBER OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES, BY POVERTY STATUS AND SEX OF FAMILY HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1969-1975

	MALE HEADED		FEMALE HEADED	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
Total	+27,000	+15%	+92,000	+33%
Nonpoor	+216,000	+17%	+67,000	+69%
Poor	-190,000	-38%	+25,000	+14%

The frequency of incidence of poverty of persons in male headed families decreased from 28.5% in 1969 to 17.4% in 1975. The frequency of incidence of poverty of persons in female headed families decreased from 65% in 1969 to 56.5% in 1975 (Table 20).

TABLE 20

INCIDENCE OF POVERTY OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES BY SEX OF FAMILY HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	1969	1975
Total	33.5	24.0
Male Headed	28.5	17.4
Famale Headed	65.0	56.5

Source: Census of Population, 1970; Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 112 (June, 1968).

Whereas female headed families contained 14% of all Mississippians in families in 1970, this proportion had increased to 18% in 1975. Of the total population in families, the proportion of persons in a male headed poor family decreased from 25% in 1969 to 14% in 1975 (Table 21).

TABLE 21

PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES BY POVERTY STATUS AND SEX OF HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	1969		1975	
	POOR	NONPOOR	POOR	NONPOOR
Male Head	25%	61%	14%	68%
Female Head	9%	5%	10%	8%

Source: Census of Population, 1970; Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 112 (June, 1968).

The Effect of Fatherless Families

The frequency of the incidence of poverty in Mississippi is much greater among female headed families. Families headed by a female run a substantially greater risk of falling below the poverty line than do male headed families. Studies of family structure have also suggested that more subtle emotional and psychological problems may have their etiology in the absence of a suitable male role model within the family context.[10] Ratcliffe, who studied the relationship between kinds of home environments experiments by youths from broken homes in a sample of black males and occupational, educational, and economic outcomes, found that structural difference among broken families are associated with very different life outcomes. Individuals provided with a continuity of parent figures and/or many years with male and female parent figures through extended families fared quite well in future educational and economic attainment. Those youths from broken homes which combined considerable discontinuity and few years with parent figures of both sexes who were more likely to be characterized by poor educational and economic outcomes.[11]

POVERTY AMONG UNRELATED PERSONS

Unrelated individuals are more likely to be poor than are persons in families.[11] For one thing, persons in families may benefit from the earnings of several family members. Then too, many of the unrelated persons are widows or widowers. Table 22 shows the incidence of extreme poverty in Mississippi in 1969 was greater among unrelated individuals than among members of families.

TABLE 22

MEMBERS OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS WITH REPORTED INCOMES BELOW SPECIFIED PROPORTION OF POVERTY THRESHOLD, 1969

Incomes Below Poverty Level		Percent with Incomes of Specified Ratio to Poverty Threshold Under .50	.50 to .74	.79 to .99
Member of Families	33.5	44.3	29.9	25.8
Unrelated Individuals	60.4	36.7	15.7	8.1
Unrelated Males	51.9	31.1	13.5	7.2
Unrealted Females	65.3	39.7	16.9	8.7

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

In 1975, over one-half (51.9%) of the unrelated persons in Mississippi reported incomes below the poverty level. For unrelated aged persons, who made up 44% of the unrelated population, 68.3% were poor. Some 59% of the unrelated females, who accounted for 63% of the unrelated population, were poor. Unrelated poor females comprised 71% of the total unrelated poor. Whereas unrelated persons accounted for 7.4% of the total population, they comprised 14.8% of the poor population.[13]

TABLE 23

CHANGE IN NUMBER AND PERCENT OF UNRELATED PERSONS, BY SEX AND POVERTY STATUS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969-1975

	CHANGE 1969 - 1975					
	TOTAL		POOR		NONPOOR	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
Total	+41,000	+31%	+10,000	+12.5%	+31,000	+60%
Male	+16,000	+33%	+ 1,000	+40%	+17,000	+74%
Female	+25,000	+30%	+ 9,000	+17%	+14,000	+33%

Source: CPR, Series P-60, No. 112.

Between 1969 and 1975 the total number of unrelated poor persons in Mississippi increased by 12.5%. This increase was greater among males than females (Table 23). The frequency of incidence of poverty among unrelated persons decreased from 60.4% in 1969 to 51.9% in 1975 (Table 24).

TABLE 24

PROPORTIONAL INCIDENCE OF POVERTY, UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

Unrelated Individuals	Percent Poor 1969	Percent Poor 1975
Total	60.4	51.9
Male	51.9	37.5
Female	65.3	59.0

Source: CPR, Series P-60, No. 112

During 1969-1975 the proportion of poor females among the total number of unrelated persons in Mississippi decreased from 42% to 37%, and the proportion of nonpoor females decreased from 42% to 37%. The number of male poor in the composition of Mississippi's unrelated population decreased from 19% to 14%, while the proportion of nonpoor males increased from 17% to 23% (Table 25).

TABLE 25

COMPOSITION OF THE UNRELATED POPULATION,
MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	1969		1975	
	POOR	NONPOOR	POOR	NONPOOR
Male	19%	17%	14%	23%
Female	42%	22%	37%	25%

Source: CPR, Series P-60, No. 112.

POVERTY AND FAMILY SIZE

Poverty and Family Size Interrelated

The close relationship between large families, unplanned births, and poverty is well documented. The adage of antiquity of "the rich man for money, the poor man for children" is a folk expression of the correlation between income, living standards, and reproductive behavior. Whether larger family size than is economically feasible for a particular couple (thus promoting a kind of self-inflected deprivation which may or may not be an intentional trade-off as against other kinds of expenditures) is the causative agent, or whether poverty fosters a cultural attitude and outlook (a set of poverty related norms and values) which is conducive to high fertility levels is the causative agent, a definite relationship may be observed between poverty and family size.[14] Table 26, which shows the average number of related children for all income and poverty families in Mississippi in 1970 for different residential areas, gives rise to several observations:

1. The mean number of children is smaller for all income than for poverty families for each residential category.

2. Rural farm fertility is greater than is fertility in other areas.

3. Black fertility is higher than white fertility irrespective of residence.

The consistent theme is the larger size of below poverty families, a relationship that would doubtless be even more pronounced except for the disproportionate share of aged couples in the below poverty category.

TABLE 26

AVERAGE NUMBER (MEAN) OF RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18, ALL INCOME AND POVERTY FAMILIES, TOTAL AND BLACK, BY AREA, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	STATE		RURAL		RURAL NONFARM		RURAL FARM	
RACE	ALL INCOME	POV.	ALL INCOME	POV.	ALL INCOME	POV.	ALL INCOME	POV.
Total	2.62	3.51	2.44	3.28	2.75	3.62	2.88	3.70
Black	3.46	3.85	3.12	3.55	3.68	4.00	3.85	4.09

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

Table 26 shows the percent of families with specified number of children below the poverty level. There is a consistent increase in percentage of poverty families as family size increases from 20.6% of all families with one or more related children under 18 residing in the household to 76.7% for families with eight or more such children. Table 27 shows the percentive distributions of family poverty by family size and race. These data make it readily apparent that 1) the percentage of families living in poverty shows a progressive increase with increased family size irrespective of residence 2) the proportion of non-poverty families shows a general decrease in the number of children, and 3) the relationship between family size and poverty, while consistent for whites and blacks, is even more pronounced among blacks.

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 WITH FAMILY INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN, SPECIFIED RESIDENTIAL AREAS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

AREA	TOTAL	ONE	TWO	THREE	FOUR	FIVE	SIX	SEVEN	EIGHT OR MORE
State	30.8	20.6	21.3	29.6	43.4	59.3	72.3	73.4	76.7

Urban	23.9	16.5	16.3	22.6	36.1	52.9	65.1	66.3	68.8
Rural Nonfarm	35.8	23.7	25.0	34.7	48.7	63.1	77.2	76.8	78.8
Rural Farm	41.0	28.0	30.8	38.7	50.2	66.7	75.5	57.9	70.5
Jackson SMSA	21.4	13.6	13.6	20.1	35.3	52.9	64.5	57.9	70.5

Source: Computed from U.S. Census of Population, 1970.

TABLE 28

PERCENT OF FAMILIES BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL BY SPECIFIED NUMBER OF CHILDREN, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

FAMILY STATUS	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
No Related Children Under 18	26.0	19.3	49.3
With Related Children Under 18	30.9	13.5	63.6
1 Related Child	20.6	10.6	49.2
2 Related Children	21.4	10.6	55.3
3 Related Children	29.6	14.6	62.9
4 Related Children	43.4	21.5	71.1
5 Related Children	59.3	32.3	75.5
6 or More Related Children	74.3	42.1	80.2
All Families	29.0	16.0	59.4

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970

The Mississippi data on the relationship between income and family size are consistent with national data.[15] To the extent national survey data are applicable to Mississippi, the conclusion of severe excess fertility (more offspring than desired by those having them),[16] would seem quite applicable to the Mississippi population, particularly the poor. One half of the nation's poor are in a family of five or larger. Excepting individuals living alone, most of whom are widows and widowers, "it may be said that the larger the family the greater the risk of poverty..."[17] Reproductive responsibility on the part of indigent women and paramours and poverty families would seem to be a highly significant variable in the reduction of poverty. Levitan has pointed out some of the benefits of a reduced birth rate among the poor.[18] Fewer children would be born into poverty, and fewer households would be driven into poverty because of unwanted children. An

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additional benefit is that children in smaller families are less likely candidates for a life of poverty than are children in larger families.[19]

Unwanted or unplanned births can keep a family from moving out of poverty or they can impell a family into poverty. Additional births into poverty families can result in a vicious circle of dependency and chronic poverty.[20] Mississippi data appears to be in alignment with national data regarding poverty and family size.

SIE Poverty-Family Size Data

The relationship between poverty and family size according to SIE data is shown in Tables 29. For all families, the average number of related children under eighteen for families with related children under 18 was 2.21, whereas the figure for poverty families was 3.08. For those families below 75%, 125% 150% and 200% of the poverty level, the mean number of children was 3.37, 2.94, 2.87, and 2.65 respectively, showing a progressive decrease in number of children with increased family income.

TABLE 29

PERCENTAGE COMPOSITION OF POVERTY AND NONPOVERTY FAMILIES, BY SIZE, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

	PROPORTION OF FAMILIES IN SPECIFIED SIZE CATEGORY	
SIZE	NON POVERTY	POVERTY
Two persons	34%	33%
Three persons	25%	16%
Four persons	22%	16%
Five persons	11%	9%
Six persons	4%	7%
Seven or more	7%	18%
Total	475,000	122,000

Source: Computed from SIE

Table 29 shows the comparative incidence of poverty and nonpoverty families by size of family according to the SIE 1975 income data. About one-third of both categories are two-person families, while the frequency of three, four, and five person families is greater among nonpoor than poor families, with the percentage differences decreasing from nine percent for three person families to two percent for five person families.

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While the frequency of poverty incidence increases from 13.8% for three person families to 56.1% for families of seven or more persons, some 46% of the largest families, and over 70% of the five person families, are not poor.

Some families have more children (i.e., three or four as opposed to one or two) because they can afford them. According to the SIE data for 1975 income, the median and mean income of families is lowest for those families with no related children[21] and increases with family size through three children age 5-17 to a mean high of $12,584, decreases slightly for three children families ($11,080) and drops more precipitously for families with four or more children ($6,923).[22] When family size is arrayed by reported monetary income, the modal point (income category of most frequent incidence) is highest among four and five person families ($15,000-$19,999). Fully 17% of all four and five person families in Mississippi had 1975 incomes in the $15,000-$19,999 category (Table 30). There were more families with incomes in excess of $25,000 than under $2,000 for each family size category except families of six or more persons.[23]

TABLE 30

DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY FAMILY SIZE, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Size of Family (Persons)	Modal Point of Income ($ thousands)	Number (1,000)	Percent of Total[1]
Two	$2-3.9	43	21%
Three	$8-9.9	19	14%
Four	$15-19.9	21	17%
Five	$15-19.9	11	17%
Six +	$2-3.9; $8-9.9	9 ea (18)	13% ea.

[1] Of that family size.

Source: SIE

Table 30 shows the percentage incidence of income in selected income brackets for Mississippi families according to family size and proportion of families by family size category as a component of all families in that income bracket. For example, about one-third of all families reporting under $2,000 income in 1975 were two person families. Three were higher percentages of four and five persons families among those in the higher income brackets shown than among the lowest income families. Numerically, there are over twice as many six person families in the $12,000-$19,999 income bracket as in the under $3,000 category.

There was comparatively little variation in the distribution of income of families of six persons or more, ranging from 6,000 with incomes under $2,000, $10,000-$12,999, $12,000-$12,999[24] to 9,000 with incomes of $2,000-$3,999 and $6,000-7,999. Four person families ranged from a low of 3,000 in the under $3,000 category to 18,000, 21,000, and 31,000 in income categories $12,000-$14,999, $15,000-$19,999 and $20,000 and over respectively. A slightly smaller percentage of three person families than of four or five person families are found within income categories above $12,000.

Belief in fate, hedonism, absence of futurism and notions of deferred gratification,are some of the more refined terms for suggestive explanatory factors for the often noted tendency of the least successful economically to have larger family sizes.[25] It has also been said that child bearing is a functional component of lower class culture which fits in with the male desire for expression of masculinity and machismo as well as for the female's conception of her role and self-worth. It may be that excess fertility[26] is in some instances functional apart from personality, emotional, or cultural milieu pathologies of perpetuators. Doubtless there are cases of large families who subsist through public services wherein there was no specific intent to become public charges.[27] That persons are seperated, divorced, or never married or that they may be below poverty income or otherwise economically disequalized is not an exemption from personal responsibility.[28] Considerations of the interrelationship between family size and poverty should note that early pregnancy seems to be a major factor in longitudinal poverty.[29]

POVERTY AND AGE

When young, we worry little about old age. Thomas Gray expresses this in his "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College."

> Alas, regardless of their doom
> The little victims play
> No sense have they of ills to come
> Nor cares beyond today.

Until the time the life cycle confronts us with the problems and prospects of aging in an intimate and personal way, furled upon us by a combination of internal changes and the changed reactions perceived in the social environment, the sense of futurity makes it seem, in Caroline Mason's expression,

> Like the wild lunacy of dreams
> To picture in prophetic rhyme
> That dim, far-distant, shadowy time
> So distant that it seems o'erbold
> Even to say, "When I am old."

Gresham, himself in his seventies, observes having sensed "in American life a sort contempt for the old:"

> ...Old people are regarded as a sort of nuisance. The prevailing attitude seems to be, "Get out of the labor force and leave room for the young," "get off the highway and let the young people who wish to go somewhere, go," "these things cannot possibly mean anything to you so get out of the way and let us enjoy them"...When a young person spills his coffee, it is just a mistake; but when I spill mine, it is because I am shaky and...The doctors[30] say, "At your age you should not undertake this kind of treatment," or an onlooker will say, "Just an old fool trying to be romantic." ...The attitude seems to be, "Shut up, Dad. Things have changed since you had anything to do with them."
>
> ...It is easier to face such contempt than such an attitude as, "Oh, there, there now; of course you feel that way because you are old."..Members of one's own family may be swept up in the conventional attitudes toward aging to the extent that they feel a consdescending attitude of pity toward anyone past sixty-five. What could be more infuriating to a highly competent septuagenarian than to have one say, "How remarkable. You still drive a car?" or "You are in your seventies. Do you still give lectures?"[31]

Curtin has commented that it is not just vanity that makes people hate growing old. Every aspect of human life undergoes some change as the years march on: the structures and functions of the body gradually become impaired; motivation, perception, emotions alter; the person's position in society and adjustment to surroundings and other people are affected. Whatever other descriptive term may characterize aging, aging is a process. Before we are old, we must become old. In Shakespeare's expression:

Each day we ripe and ripe
Each day we rot and rot
And thereby hangs a tale.

Poverty Among the Aged

In spite of the harsh and undeniably visible poverty among a segment of the aged, to depict the aged as a group as impoverished is as misleading as to stereotype all aged as decrepit or garrulous. Furthermore, the fact that older individuals have lower incomes than younger persons is not necessarily an indication of a comparatively disequalized economic status.[33] Many can be regarded as "poor" only because asset holdings have been disregarded. However, when the aged are "poor" (that is, not only income-poor, but also asset-poor), their predicament is perhaps one of the harshest when compared with income-poor and asset-poor younger persons, for many of the latter have both hope and a realistic prospect of future income, attributes which are often denied the aged.[34]

One circumstances particularly favorable to the aged was their opportunity to assume ownership at a time when land prices, construction prices, and interest rates were much lower so that a larger percentage of releatively lower economic status persons perhaps had more exercisable options to maximize satisfaction in an earlier market. It has been suggested that it is little wonder that older people generally do not consider housing to be a source of dissatisfaction.[35]

Comparative Discretionary Income

The older person is commonly considered a stable economic force. Banks and savings and loan associations count the retired person as a good credit risk. His "fixed" income may consist of assured payoffs--Social Security, pensions, annuities, and dividends from low-risk stocks and bonds. Income requirements for the aged are likely to be less than for younger persons. This differential is recognized in the banking practice of allowing up to forty percent of a retired person's income as a monthly mortgage payment, as against 20 or 25 percent for anyone else. A study by Tongren[36] indicates that aged persons, benefitting from State and federal income tax allowances, exemptions or reductions in real estate property taxes, absence of responsibility for dependents, elimination of the responsibility for the Social Security tax, home ownership, differentials in medical costs as a result of medicare, etc., have more discretionary cash than might be expected from their incomes. An aged family with $5,000 income will actually be doing as well as a younger couple coralling forty percent more.

Average family expenditures start to decline somewhere around ages 55-64. Families in this age group are able to spend the smallest proportions of their income on current consumption. People of low income, whatever their age, are likely to spend most of it for current consumption. However, even with income controlled, older people spend comparatively smaller proportions of their income. The major factor seems to lie in the reduced size of older families. Decreasing family size is associated at most age levels with lower proportions of income expended. However, even with family size held constant, older families tend to spend less than those families in the middle years. Many of the aged have already acquired necessities for which younger families are still making effort to purchase.[37]

Extremes of Wealth and Poverty

With many visible exceptions, for many people less money in old age is as certain as wrinkles and taxes. When an individual retires his income frequently drops by 60 to 80 percent. Prices go up, savings evaporate.[38] Older Americans scavenging food in garbage cans or eating dogfood is not unheard of. People over 65 are about twice as likely to be poor as people under 65. Some are poor people who have grown old. Others have grown poor because of the circumstances of aging.

There is an even greater imbalance in the wealth of the aged than in the imbalance of wealth among the population at large. The $15,000 2-room cooperative apartments in retirement villages and ownership of blue-chip stocks is little consolation to the immense group of older Americans living in old hotels in the blighted areas of cities or in urine-soaked doorways of buildings. Garvin and Burger[33] poignantly note that sometimes discovery of the impoverished aged is dramatic as when one of them is occasionally pictured in morning papers

> ...when a downtown hotel fire routes them into the street in their night clothes. But their comings and goings are usually as predictable as the tides. They wash up onto the marble stairways and portices of libraries in the morning and recede with the setting sun to alleyways and curtainless windows over pawn shops...

Legislative and administrative surveys and hearings have repeatedly documented the thesis that many older Americans are worried and angry about economic problems over which they have no control.[39] But then so are others who are struggling to pay off their mortgages, provide education for their youngsters, perhaps contribute to the support of an aged parent, and maintain the exigencies and responsibilities of living in a modest priced suburb (i.e., expensive) who have little margin of excess of income over outgo to save in provision for the "golden years." Such overburdened persons[40] may look less than favorably on continued transfers of their earnings in direct income transfers like Social Security or other means of administering financial assistance (such as further tax concessions to the elderly).[41] Nor are such persons likely to be impressed with contention that more public emoluments must be directed to the aged since "because they have more free time, their recreation costs could be higher"[42] as a convincing argument.

Contrasted with the abject misery and isolation of many oldsters, the affluent aged illustrate a caste system on a grand scale. Economically, the aged are victim and benefactor of the economic system. Those who have already gotten the major expenditures--house purchase, family raising, etc.--behind them benefit from the prosperous crests of an affluent society. The extremes where the affluence of some contrasts with the abject misery of many presents a picture of caste polemities in graphic form.[43]

Recent Changes in Poverty Among the Mississippi Aged

Poverty among the aged in Mississippi decreased by nearly one-fourth during 1969-1975. Whereas over one-half of Mississippi's aged population were statistically poor in terms of reported money income in 1969, this proportion was reduced to 37% in 1975. The number of poor aged Mississippians decreased by 27,100 during this time, while the absolute number of aged persons rose by over more than 35,000 persons. Mississippi was the only state in which as many as one-third of the aged population were poor in 1975.[44] Mississippi was one of only four states in which the decrease in the number of elderly poor during 1969-1975 was less than 25%.[45]

TABLE 31

PERSONS AGE 65 AND BEYOND BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI AND THE UNITED STATES, 1969 AND 1975

	Age 65 and Beyond Below Poverty				
	1969		1975		% Change
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	1969-75
United States	3,049,300	14.0	5,231,900	27.3	-41.7
Mississippi	118,300	54.5	91,200	37.0	-23.0

Source: National Clearinghouse on Aging, Administration on Aging, Office of Human Development Services, DHEW, Statistical Notes, 2 (August, 1978), p. 11.

Table 32 shows the proprotion of aged population in 1975 reporting incomes below specified multiples of the poverty index. Mississippi was one of six states with 40% of its aged population reporting an income of less than 125% of poverty, was one of three states with more than half of its elderly population reporting an income of less than 150% of poverty, and was the only state in which as many as two-thirds of the elderly population reported an income under 200% of poverty.[46]

TABLE 32

PROPORTION OF PERSONS AGE 65 AND BEYOND REPORTING 1975 INCOMES BELOW SPECIFIED MULTIPLES OF THE STATISTICAL POVERTY INDEX, MISSISSIPPI, THE UNITED STATES, 1975

	100%	125%	150%	200%
United States	14.0	23.6	32.1	47.2
Mississippi	37.0	48.5	60.8	73.6

Source: National Clearinghouse on Aging, Administration on Aging, Office of Human Development Services, DHEW, Statistical Notes,2(August, 1978),p.11.

Of the 91,200 aged poor in Mississippi, 43% are members of families (Table 33). Of the aged poor who are members of families, 57% are heads, 43% other family members (Table 34). Of the unrelated aged poor in Mississippi, 21% are male and 79% are female.

TABLE 33

FAMILY STATUS OF PERSONS AGE 65 AND BEYOND BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI AND THE UNITED STATES, 1969 AND 1975

		In Families	Unrelated Individuals		
	Total	%	Total	Male	Female
United States	3,049,300	35%	1,778,000	16%	84%
Mississippi	91,200	43%	51,600	21%	79%

Source: National Clearinghouse on Aging, Administration on Aging, Office of Human Development Services, DHEW, Statistical Notes, 2 (August, 1978), p. 13.

TABLE 34

PROPORTION OF AGED POOR IN FAMILIES, BY FAMILY STATUS, MISSISSIPPI AND THE UNITED STATES, 1975

	Families	
	Heads	Other
United States	62%	38%
Mississippi	57%	43%

Source: National Clearinghouse on Aging, Administration on Aging, Office of Human Development Services, DHEW, Statistical Notes, 2 (August, 1978), p. 13.

POVERTY AND FOOD STAMP RECIPIENTCY

Table 35 shows that almost 14% of the Mississippi households received food stamps in 1975. This included 39.5% of the below poverty households and 5.7% of the above poverty households in Mississippi. McDonald has estimated that food stamp recipiency to persons in poverty in Mississippi would reduce statistical poverty by nearly 15% if counted as a component of income to recipient below poverty families.[47]

It is probably conclusive beyond successful dispute that the program as operated creates an artificially large number of needy families by an income computation formula which allows deductions for such expenses as child care and union dues while simultaneously making little effort to restrict those with adequate income and assets, or who are voluntarily poor or who are contrivedly poor in order to qualify for the program. While the program seems to be well received and encouraged by agricultural products processors and merchandisers,it may be less popular with persons who see food stamp recipients making apparently cavalier and uninhibited purchases of items in greater quantity and quality than can be obtained by non-recipients. At least recognition of widespread latent if unorganized and unsystematic discontent seems to be given perfunctionary expression in statements made in the Congressional committee hearings concerning the food stamp program, particularly by those expressing dissenting views.[48]

TABLE 35

SPECIFIED CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLDS RECEIVING FOOD STAMPS, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

	Number	Percent
Total Households	784,407	100.0
Received Food Stamps	108,166	13.8
Households Below Poverty	189,905	100.0
Received Food Stamps	75,034	39.5
Households Above Poverty	545,464	100.0
Received Food Stamps	31,132	5.7

Source: Israel Putnam, Office of Operations, Un-numbered Issuance "From the Office of Education Survey by Census in Spring, 1976 of 1975 Incomes of 150,000 Households" (April 27, 1977).

Mississippi may have played a significant if not particularly desirable role in the expansion of the food stamp program to the extent a "rediscovery of hunger"[49] in the Mississippi Delta where "nothing in American agriculture compares with the size, wealth, efficiency of the cotton farms..."[50] seems to have been a catalytic factor in the escalation of benefit levels enacted on January 11, 1971. From the outset the food program involved a curious assemblage of motives and attitudes, including clearing warehouses of surplus accumulations of government price-support programs for the agriculturally privileged.[45] Whatever its merit or demerit on other grounds, the food stamp program does diminish the gains a family would derive from an increase in re-

reported earnings since the cost of stamps increases with income at an implicit tax rate of thirty percent. Furthermore, participation requires a distortion in consumption patterns (necessitating a larger expenditure for food than a family would make if given equivalent cash benefits, or than they prefer to tie up in food script given cash income) which discourages participation among families who prefer to retain purchasing flexibility as opposed to the compulsory budgeting implicit in the operation of the program. In other words, many families prefer to forego the bonus value of food stamp because the surplus value differential between the cost paid and the purchasing value represented is a less satisfactory allocation of resources than are purchases of items other than food stamps even at a discounted rate. Clarkson has estimated the transfer of each dollar under the program is worth only eighty cents on the average to participants.[52] Products merchandisers, by contrast, receive full dollar value for every item sold for a dollar's worth of food stamps, and benefit by some $3 billion per year in expanded demand.[54] The absolute cost is much greater, with administrative costs, which the American Enterprise Institute claims to run about ten percent of the benefit at the federal level and five percent at the local level. The food stamp expenditures in Mississippi in fiscal 1974-1975 involved $4.7 million for salary and fringe payments and $6 million in total administrative expenditures.[55] The total amount of bonus coupons (difference between coupon value and the cash outlay required for purchase) exceeded $70 million, representing a considerable increase in marketing potential for merchandisers.

It is interesting that the SIE data reveals almost as many recipient households (17,676) containing seven or more persons as one (18,294) or two persons (19,373) households. That the food stamp program does operate as a subsidy for larger size households is reflected in the fact that the average size of nonrecipient households in 1975 was 2.94 compared to an average size of 4.02 persons in recipient households.[56]

POVERTY AND EDUCATION

Like income, the educational level of an individual or a social group is relative to a variety of factors -- luck, influence, aspirations, favor, appearance, ability, intellectual endowment, environment, motivation, opportunity, are all likely factors.

The general trend toward more schooling and educational credentialing has been matched by the faith that more education is what everybody needs.[57] This faith, combined with the rising income and prosperity of the South, made possible an immense expansion in facilities for education as Southerns have demonstrated a "willingness to carry an unusually heavy financial burden in terms of the ratio of expenditure per pupil to the total wealth of the region." In 1968 for example, Mississippi, with the lowest per capita income, spent approximately 6.3 percent of it on public schools. Connecticut, with the nation's highest per capita personal income, spent only

4.6 percent of it on public schools.[58] Mississippi has traditionally ranked among the highest states in terms of willingness to tax its people for education as measured by its percentage of total income allotted to educational outlays, although in the past blacks do not appear to have fared as well as whites in terms of educational expenditures.[59]

Education and Poverty Reduction

There is no question but that basic skills in communication and information processing are necessary to maximize one's chances to capitalize on formal education or other training. On the other hand, the many extensive experiments over the last decade have taken any presumption of validity out of the assumption that increased expenditures per se for educational salaries, services, or facilities will be of significant direct or trickle down value on the ability of the poor to achieve a better economic or social status.[60] However, it frequently happens that educational quality is assumed to be equated with dollar expenditure per pupil, instructional expense, or similar measures of input. A frequently corollary is the assumption that the answer to any alleged educational deficiency lies in a larger capital outlay. The weight of the hard research evidence, however, seems overwhelming that once a basis of adequacy is reached there is little if any cost-quality relationship in the schools. Naylor and Clotfelder feel that Mississippi and other States where the ratio of expenditure for capital outlay exceeds the national figure, the "school dollar has been spent for the construction of new facilities at a questionable rate" should reassess the continued escalation in school expenditures.[61]

Many of the poor have been victimized by an "education" which gives its graduates a "diploma which some of the recipients can't even read."[62] Marshner has commented that

> One excuse offered for the inadequate teaching of American youth is that so many of them are poor; they come to class hungry and tired; they are unable to study because they live in crowded quarters; their families move frequently. The plight of most children during the Great Depression was much worse. Yet "there is no evidence of widespread illiteracy among the twelve-year-olds who went through the... primary schools during the Great Depression, nor is there any evidence that large numbers of these children could not handle simple mathematics." The army of World War II, at least, found most young men of the Depression era to be well educated enough for its purposes, something that cannot be said of the army of the 1970s, which has lower standards to begin with.[63]

Historian Henry Steele Commager has argued that colleges today are what high schools were fifty years ago.[64] Levitan has pointed out that "it is not at all clear that society will be served by continued expansion of college facilities.[65] While one justification for extensive investment in higher education has been the assumption that it would help lessen inequality, there seems to be little question but that the redistributive effect of higher education is from the poor to those would be relatively well off even without education. Friedman has described this redistribution as "taxing the people of Watts to send the children of Beverly Hills to college."

Friedman has observed that low-income tax payers and youngsters not in college are much less effective than students and professors in presenting a case for increased state expenditures on education. The subsidy to students enrolled in State colleges (difference between tuition and actual cost) is only partially returned through taxes on the increased income they receive. The greater part is paid by the rest of the public, including citizens least positioned to take advantage of higher education. Friedman is of the persuasion that "It is eminently desirable that every youngster, regardless of his or his parents' income, social position, residence, or race, have the opportunity to get higher schooling - provided he is willing to pay for it either currently or out of the higher income the schooling will enable him to earn. There is no case for subsidizing those who get higher schooling at the expense of those who do not."[66]

All persons irrespective of class, income, or even age, should have the opportunity to take advantage of as much education as they desire, including higher education, as they may desire and are willing and capable of obtaining. While all, including lower-middle class persons, minorities, the disadvantaged and socio-economically deprived, should have equal opportunity with others to pursue higher education at community colleges and universities and to qualify for professional and graduate degrees, it should be distinctly recognized, however, that expenditures for higher education have the net effect of being "a transfer of funds which injures most of the poor"[67] in the sense that higher education generally increases rather than reduces inequality.

The efficacy of a college education for the elimination of poverty would also seem diluted by the fact that the educational institutions are turning out more graduates than there are positions which can utilize the educational levels attained. Also, any consideration of the role of education in making a comparative contribution to raising the position of the disequalized must recognize that scholarships to selected representatives of categorical or deprived populations makes little if any overall contribution (irrespective of the selected individuals who are thus given an opportunity to enhance a lifetime stream of income which would have exceeded that of their less gifted peers anyway) to the reduction of overall disadvantages of the deprived. Where there are limited enrollments in professional schools which allow only selected admittance, this individual gain must be balanced against the losses to other disadvantaged categorical minorities and individuals of lower-middle or upper-lower class of equivalent ability and ambition who are not selected to receive support, and are thus denied opportunity for achievement. Those persons of poor parentage receiving compensatory scholarships are generally those who, though coming from poor families, have enough capital in the form of human talent to do very well in life anyway. Consequently, the subsidation which is received is principally a gift to the parents.[69] Higher education illustrates the phenomenon that "redistribution of income characteristically takes the form of shifts back and forth within the middle income group who control the bulk of political power and taxable capacity."[70]

Perhaps the most direct and beneficial step that could be taken to enable interested persons of low and moderate income to take advantage of educational opportunities would be to provide a tax credit for tuition expenditures.[71] This would allow those persons who could not otherwise afford to make educational investments to do so without the necessity of direct subsidation (thus maximizing individual autonomy of choice). This is possibly the single most apparent step that could be taken by the State to affirm a commitment to educational opportunity. It would also provide a rather direct method by which consumers could signal providers of the type and kinds of education desired. Rather than a redistribution program with attendant administrative costs and inequities of allocation, a tax credit would be self-distributing in that real returns would be realized by those taking advantage of the opportunity to obtain additional or extended education.

Educational Quality and Educational Expenditure

During the ten year period of school year 1967-68 and 1976-77 the average daily attendance of Mississippi public schools decreased from about 540,000 to about 476,000 thousands pupils (12% decrease). Ironically, there was an increase of about 3,000 (12%) in the number of teachers during this time. Average salaries of members of the vocation of classroom teaching escalated by more than 100% from figures of $4,685 in 1967-68 to $9,399 during 1976-77 (for the limited, i.e., 10 month, school term employment period). During 1976-77 75% of the novice entrants into the teaching vocation in Mississippi knocked down salaries of $8,500 or above for the teaching year.

Total public school educational expenditures in Mississippi in 1957-58 were $70.5m. This had grown to $196.5m by 1967-68 and $300m by 1970-1971. By 1976-77 expenditures had gone beyond $522m, increasing by 166 % over a ten year period. Average expenditure per pupil in Mississippi in 1976-77 was $1,096.78 .[72] The current expense per pupil in Mississippi ($1,148) exceeds that of several other southeastern states, including Georgia, Kentucky, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Tennessee. The average salary of school superintendents in 1976-77 was in excess of $20,000.[73]

The Coleman report, based on an extensive study of public schools, documented an absence of relationship between variation in school fiscal and human resources and the achievement of pupils in them. The Coleman study, which began with a focus on differences between black and white school faculties on the assumption this was related to student achievement, ended with conclusions that challenge traditional notions of the relative influence of school-related and socio-economically related factors on student achievement.[74] The data did not support any indication of a relationship between the physical or fiscal characteristics of schools and student achievement. The report indicates that for blacks the relative equality of Southern school facilities with those in other parts of the country adds less to student achievement than does the relative inferiority of the teachers (as measured by verbal acuity) in them. The results of the Coleman study also indicated that differences in family background account for more variation in the achievements of white and black children than differences in school facilities.[75]

The Jencks study confirmed Coleman's finding of greater variation *within* schools than among systems classified by various input measures. Jencks and associates found that everything--school budget, teacher profiles, social policies--are all secondary or irrelevant to the basic explanatory variable--the characteristics of attending children. Similary, dozens of class-size studies have provided other data which factually challenges the averments between class size, instructional costs, pupil expenditures, and similar input measures and alleged educational success. The hard data has revealed more differences *within* educational units than between units classified on the basis of economic expenditures and other input factors.[76]

Marshner, noting that it is not "the size of the school budget... not innovative gimmicks and learning strategies, not psychological intervention and behavior modification" which achieves equal education, advises that "The greatest influence on learning is exerted by the family - the home." She adds,[77]

> No massive program of equalizing education can succeed, nor should we expect it to. Education is an individual experience, not a collective one. The only goal appropriate to education is to *improve the individual being educated: to broaden his horizons*, to deepen his understanding, to hone his intellectual skills, and to exercise his mind. Whatever practical benefits society may gain from the education of an individual are incdiental. If individuals are well educated, the nation will by definition be well educated. But massive federal efforts to educate the nation have resulted in an illiterate and discontented population of individuals - a result that could and should have been forseen.

Horton and Leslie summarize the findings of studies which assessed the relationship between educational quality and increased expenditures as follows:

> ...there is no convincing evidence that, beyond a certain point, increased school expenditures bring any substantial improvement in educational outcome. Just where this point of vanishing returns is located is not clear; what is clear is that pouring more money into the existing school system is likely to show disappointing results. Much of the money will be wasted on uses that are educationally unproductive. It will bring...teachers higher salaries, but it is unlikely that any substantial gains in learning will follow.[78]

Education Levels and Poverty in Mississippi

Table 35 shows that for adults age 25-64, 30.3% of the families whose head had less than 8 years education had 1969 incomes below the poverty level. This proportion decreased consistently with increased levels of education. The same pattern is found for families in which the head was 65 years or more of age, although the percentage of poor is much larger for each educational level.

TABLE 35

PERCENT FAMILIES WITH BELOW THE POVERTY LEVEL, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, AGE OF HEAD, AND RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	Under 25 Years		25-64 Years		65 Years & Over	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Elementary						
Under 8 years	26.0	71.0	30.3	66.4	55.2	73.3
8 years	22.8	67.2	18.6	57.8	43.3	63.2
High School						
1-3 years	18.1	62.5	13.6	52.4	34.0	59.6
4 years	10.6	35.5	7.9	38.3	20.3	51.5
College						
1-3 years	17.2	34.9	5.3	27.8	16.6	45.5
4 years	13.6	11.7	3.4	6.1	9.0	22.9
5 or more	10.4	----	3.1	5.2	8.5	27.6

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970

High school graduation marks a definite drop in the precentage of black poor. Nevertheless, 38.3% of the black families whose head had completed high school had incomes below the poverty level. There is comparatively little racial difference in the porportion of poor families whose head finished college among the 25-64 age group. For heads obtaining 1-3 years of college, however, only 5% of the whites in contrast to 28% of the black families were poor. The proportions of poor among those completing specified years of college for the under 25 population likely reflects the gentle poverty of students and young families without responsibilities.

SUMMARY

Although there was a notable decrease in the number and percent of poor population in Mississippi between 1969 and 1975, Mississippi continued to have the highest frequency of incidence of poverty of any state in the republic. Rural Mississippi has the largest number as well as the largest proportion of the State's poor. Data indicate that the severity of poverty as well as the frequency of incidence of below poverty income may be somewhat greater among blacks as a group than among whites.

The frequency of incidence of poverty is greater among families whose head in unemployed than among families with employed heads. It is also greater among fatherless families (which, by definition, have no working spouse to contribute to the family's income level) than among dual parent families, and is much greater among larger families as a whole than among families in which greater reproductive responsibility has been evidenced. Unrelated individuals are more likely to be poor than are persons in families.

Although many of the aged are in far better economic and social position than would be indicated by reported dollar income alone, when the aged are asset poor as well as income poor their poverty may be the most bleak of all, since their opportunity for escaping from poverty in the future are probably relatively nil. There is a positive relationship between education and poverty as a whole. However, such a relationship does not of itself lend support to a notion that increased expenditure for for education in terms of expanded facilities or increased emoulments for provider functionaries would be of ameliorative value.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL POVERTY

The adage of man's home is his castle which even the King of England dare not trespass reflects the development of the sacredness of "one's own" household which has deep roots in the organic evolution of Anglo-Saxon legal principles. William Pitt, writing in the 18th century said:

> ...the poorest man may in his cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the Crown. It may be frail; its roof may shake; the wind may blow through it; the storms may enter; the rain may enter, but the King of England cannot enter; all his forces dare not cross the threshold of the ruined tenement.[1]

Land is a basic economic heritage of a people. Part of the glory of America has been the comparative access to the land which it afforded, allowing countless numbers to shred to the debris of ages which would have held them in bondage in Europe and combine laborer and householder in the yeoman owner in the United States.[2] Land has traditionally been of strong importance in Mississippi since man-land relations have been a direct source of income in the production of agricultural crops and timber, and has been a basic ingredient in social organization (man-man relations). Although Mississippi is no longer basically an agricultural State, ownership of land does and will continue to be a significant social, political, and cultural, yardstick.[3]

Importance of Land Tenure

Land tenure, or the conditions under which landed property is held, occupied, and used, is a fundamental factor in the way economic resources are allocated in a community. It is probably a major determining criteria of who is or who is not going to be poor or who is likely to remain poor. In addition, land ownership is thought to carry with it social stability, individual and familial autonomy, community identification, and other recognized accouterments of good citizenship and desirable levels-of-living.

Despite the large number of Americans who possess title to homes (generally mortgaged), it is estimated that some two-thirds of the private property in the United States is owned by five percent of the population.[4] Most of the geographic area of the United States remains rural despite the rapid urbanization of the population. Some 90% of the American population lives on circa 10% of the land area. And, with three of four Americans jammed into cities and subjected to increasing food prices and interdependence, landholding patterns assume even greater importance.

Numerous observers have felt that widely diffused and responsible ownership of productive property is a basic ingredient in social order and economic justice. Thomas Jefferson, believing that "the small land holders are the most precious part of a state," advocated public policies "to provide by every possible means that as few as possible be without a little portion of land."[5] Rural landholding patterns are important not only because there is good reason for regarding farmland as the most basic and desirable form of productive property,[6] but because landholding patterns greatly influence individual and group welfare in both rural and urban communities.[7]

This chapter looks specifically at farm changes in Mississippi, contemporary agricultural policy, and some ameliorative suggestions addressed to the question of rural poverty.

FARM CHANGES IN MISSISSIPPI

Farm Population

The agricultural revolution has brought a dramatic decline in the farm population. This is partially due to expanding opportunities in industry and the escalation in educational opportunity after World War II, partially due to the increased intensity of mechanization (which has both released and/or driven off farm labor as well as placed the less capitalized farmer at an economic and political disadvantage), and partially due to the political structuring of farm policy which has favored the development of large-scale enterprises.[8]

In 1930 some two-thirds of Mississippi's population were farm residents. In the 1930s the farm population increased slightly but slightly decreased as a percentage of the total population. During the 1950s and 1960s the farm population decreased at escalating rates, declining by nearly 60% during 1960-1970. The proportion of persons living on farms decreased from one-half of Mississippi's population in 1950 to 24.9% in 1960 and only 9.5% in 1970.[9]

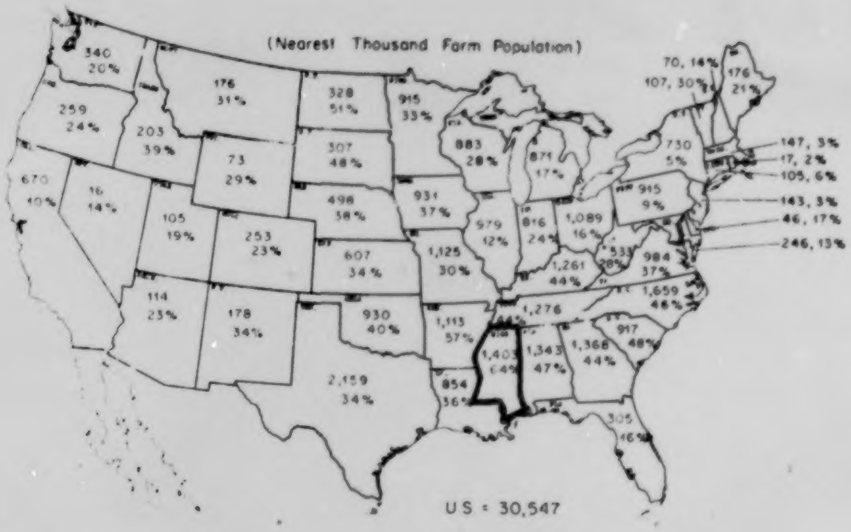
Mississippi had the highest percentage of farm population (64%) of any State in the republic in 1940 (Figure 1). As of 1973, the estimated proportion of farm population in Mississippi (11%) exceeded that of any other Southern State, but was no longer the nations' highest (Figure 2). During 1940-1975 the proportion of farm population to the U. S. total population decreased from circa 23% to circa 4.5%.[10]

Income from Agricultural Activity

Some 59% of the cash receipts for farm commodities in Mississippi in 1974 were for crops, and 40% for livestock products. Cotton still accounted for the largest percentage of income (29%).

FIGURE 1

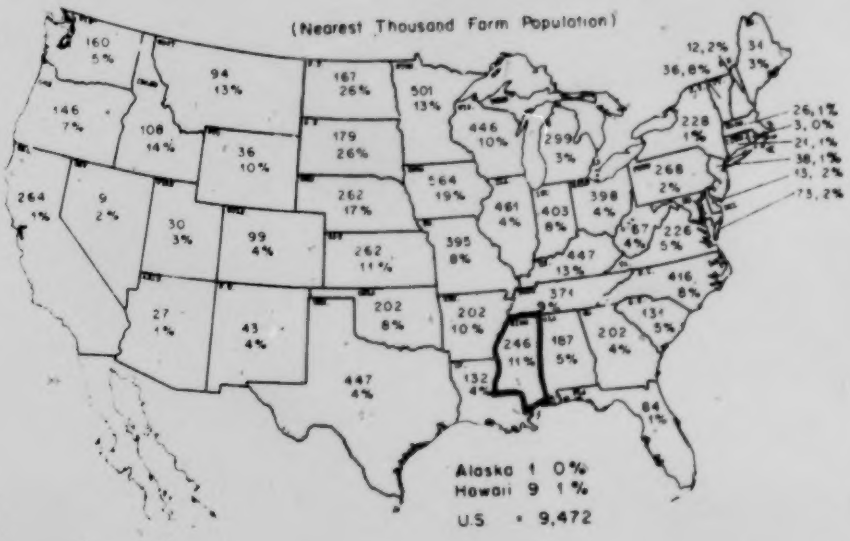
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FARM POPULATION, BY STATE, UNITED STATES, 1940


(Nearest Thousand Farm Population)
340 20%
259 24%
670 10%
16 14%
203 39%
176 31%
73 29%
105 19%
253 23%
114 23%
178 34%
328 51%
307 48%
498 38%
607 34%
930 40%
2,159 34%
915 33%
931 37%
1,125 30%
1,113 57%
854 36%
883 28%
979 12%
871 17%
816 24%
1,089 16%
1,261 44%
1,276
1,403 64%
1,343 47%
1,368 44%
917 48%
305 46%
533 28%
984 37%
1,659 46%
915 9%
730 5%
70, 14%
107, 30%
176 21%
147, 3%
17, 2%
105, 6%
143, 3%
46, 17%
246, 13%
US = 30,547

Source: Frank O. Leuthold and B.R. McManus, "Decline of the U.S. Rural Population," Tennessee Farm and Home Science, Progress Report 95, p. 8.

FIGURE 2

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF FARM POPULATION, BY STATE, UNITED STATES, 1973


(Nearest Thousand Farm Population)
160 5%
146 7%
264 1%
9 2%
108 14%
94 13%
36 10%
30 3%
99 4%
27 1%
43 4%
167 26%
179 26%
262 17%
262 11%
202 8%
447 4%
501 13%
564 19%
395 8%
202 10%
132 4%
446 10%
461 4%
299 3%
403 8%
398 4%
447 13%
374 9%
246 11%
187 5%
202 4%
134 5%
84 1%
67 4%
226 5%
416 8%
268 2%
228 1%
12, 2%
36, 8%
34 3%
26, 1%
3, 0%
21, 1%
38, 1%
13, 2%
73, 2%
Alaska 1 0%
Hawaii 9 1%
U.S. = 9,472

Source: Same as Figure 1, p. 9.

FIGURE 3

PERCENT CHANGE IN NUMBER OF FARMS, AND PERCENT CHANGE IN ACERAGE IN FARMS, BY COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI. 1969-1974

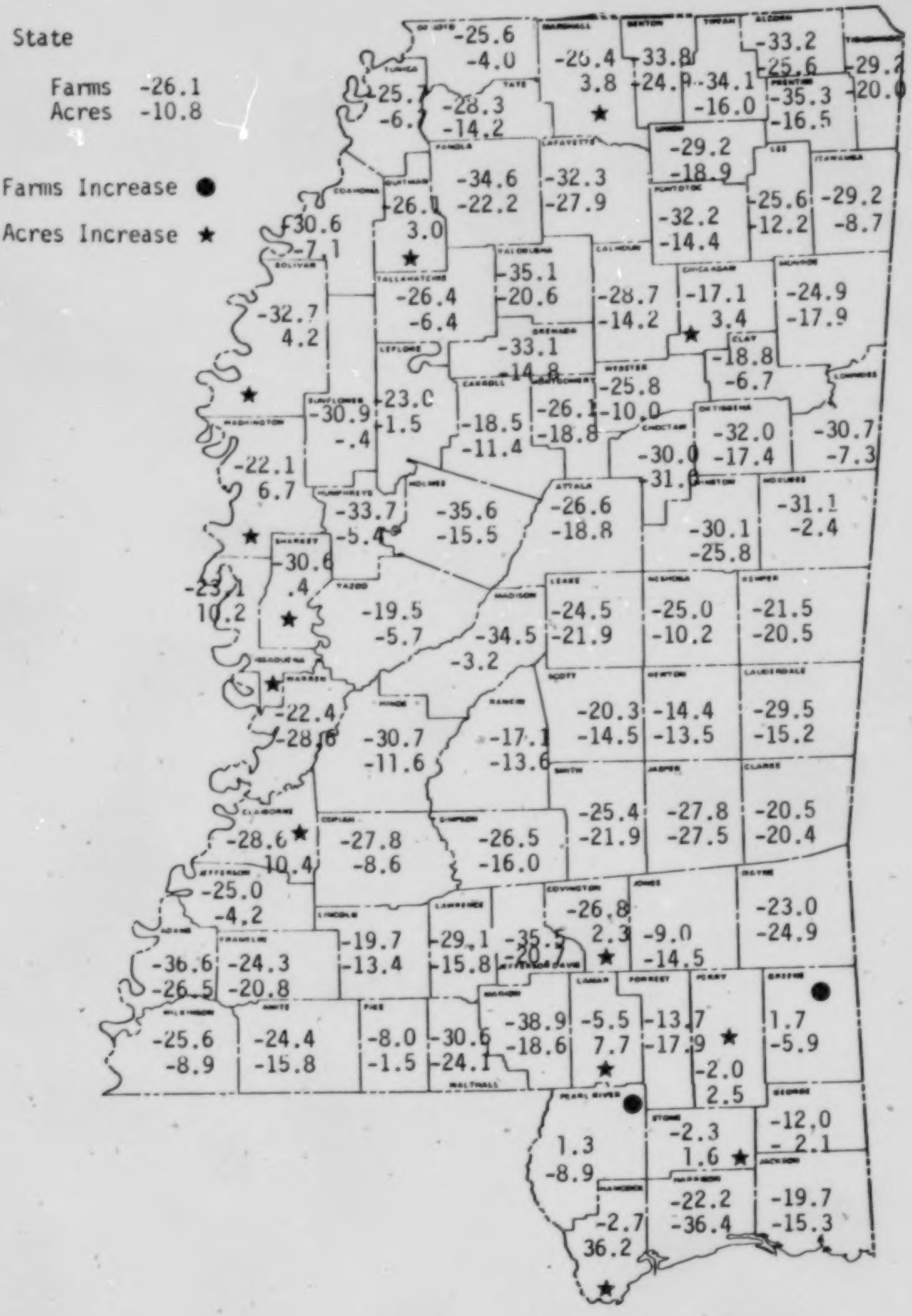

State
Farms -26.1
Acres -10.8
Farms Increase ●
Acres Increase ★
-25.6 -4.0
-26.4 3.8
-33.8 -24.9
-34.1 -16.0
-33.2 -25.6
-29.2 -20.0
-35.3 -16.5
-25.7 -6.7
-28.3 -14.2
-29.2 -18.9
-34.6 -22.2
-32.3 -27.9
-25.6 -12.2
-29.2 -8.7
-30.6 -7.1
-26.0 3.0
-32.2 -14.4
-35.1 -20.6
-26.4 -6.4
-28.7 -14.2
-17.1 3.4
-24.9 -17.9
-32.7 4.2
-33.1 -14.8
-18.8 -6.7
-25.8 -10.0
-30.9 -.4
-23.0 1.5
-18.5 -11.4
-26.1 -18.8
-32.0 -17.4
-30.7 -7.3
-22.1 6.7
-30.0 -31.6
-33.7 -5.4
-35.6 -15.5
-26.6 -18.8
-31.1 -2.4
-30.1 -25.8
-30.6 .4
-23.1 10.2
-19.5 -5.7
-34.5 -3.2
-24.5 -21.9
-25.0 -10.2
-21.5 -20.5
-22.4 -28.6
-30.7 -11.6
-17.1 -13.6
-20.3 -14.5
-14.4 -13.5
-29.5 -15.2
-28.6 -10.4
-27.8 -8.6
-26.5 -16.0
-25.4 -21.9
-27.8 -27.5
-20.5 -20.4
-25.0 -4.2
-26.8 2.3
-9.0 -14.5
-23.0 -24.9
-36.6 -26.5
-24.3 -20.8
-19.7 -13.4
-29.1 -15.8
-35.5 -20.7
-25.6 -8.9
-24.4 -15.8
-8.0 -1.5
-30.6 -24.1
-38.9 -18.6
-5.5 7.7
-13.7 -17.9
-2.0 2.5
1.7 -5.9
1.3 -8.9
-2.3 1.6
-12.0 -2.1
-2.7 36.2
-22.2 -36.4
-19.7 -15.3

TABLE 1

NUMERICAL FARM POPULATION, PERCENT OF TOTAL, AND DECENNIAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1920-1970

	Farm Population (thousands)	Percent of Total	Decennial Change (%)
1920	1,288	71.8	--
1930	1,366	68.0	6.1
1940	1,403	64.2	2.7
1950	1,097	50.3	-21.8
1960	680	31.2	-38.0
1970	277	12.5	-59.3

Source: Farm Population Estimates 1910-1970, (Washington: Rural Development Service, U. S. D. A. Statistical Bulletin, 523, July, 1973).

Soybeans accounted for 25% of the agricultural cash receipts in 1976, while cotton accounted for 24%, and chickens and chicken products for 19%. Meat animals accounted for 14% of total farm sales in 1976, while dairy products accounted for 5.2%. Vegetables accounted for minute portions of total agricultured income.

It would be interesting to speculate on what the crop production distribution pattern would be if production was geared only to market demand completely apart from subsidation. If there is any government price support, encouragement, or subsidation of cotton production whatsoever, then "the selling and leasing of alottments...to the larger cotton producers[11] in the Delta counties."[12] would seem to erase any proported justification for subsidation at taxpayer expense. Table 2 shows the longitudinal picture of income from agricultural activity in Mississippi.

Farm Numbers and Size

It is clear that Mississippi has rapidly moved in the direction of "mechanized, large-scale farming industries and away from the pattern of small, economically marginal, family operated units which once dominated rural life styles in Mississippi." The number of farms in Mississippi decreased from an historical high of 313,000 in 1930 to less than half of this number (138,000) in 1959 (Table 3). Between 1950 and 1964 the number of farms/farmers decreased by 57% (from 251,383 to 109,141) with 30,000 of this decrease occurring during 1959-1964.[13] By 1974 the number of Mississippi farms was 54,000, a decrease of over one-half within a ten year span.

TABLE 2

INCOME FROM AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITY
MISSISSIPPI, SPECIFIED YEARS, 1950 - 1976

YEAR	SALES EARNINGS ($M)[1]	GOVERNMENT GIFTS ($M)	IN-KIND VALUE[2]	NET FARM INCOME[3]
1950	493.1	9.9	116.3	337.6
1955	555.7	6.4	106.3	369.2
1960	588.2	12.5	84.4	233.8
1965	820.4	26.6	91.9	298.3
1970	867.7	146.5	91.2	314.0
1971	997.6	124.4	86.4	343.0
1972	1,048.1	125.9	87.9	413.3
1973	1,488.3	101.3	119.8	646.5
1974	1,493.7	7.9	131.1	404.0
1975	1,326.7	20.2	132.0	250.7
1976	1,671.8	28.6	130.8	515.3

1. Livestock and products and crop sales. Does not include "other farm income" other than receipts from sales and government gifts.

2. Non-money income.

3. Earnings, government gifts, non-money income, and other farm income less farm production expenses.

Source: USDA, State Farm Income Statistics, 1975, p. 20; Mississippi Agriculture Statistics 1973-1976 (Jackson Mississippi Department of Agriculture and Commerce), pp. 3-4.

Average farm size in Mississippi regressed from 55 acres per farm in 1930 to 81 acres in 1960, and 221 acres in 1969, to 267 acres in 1974. The 1974 average was about twice as large as the average size of 135 acres in 1959 and more than twice the 1954 average of 96 acres.[14]

Kelly,[15] in a study of small farm land tenure in the Yazoo Basin, pointed out that farm size has managed to somewhat hold its own in the hill county:

> The largest increase in farm size occured in the Yazoo Basin and along the Mississippi River south of there, while the hill country and northern part of the Black Belt experi-

enced the smallest average increases. In the hill areas many small farmers are holding their land and living on it while working elsewhere. This is not so common in areas of large increases in farm size..."

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF FARMS, PERCENT CHANGE, AND AVERAGE SIZE AND PERCENT CHANGE, MISSISSIPPI, 1930-1974

YEAR	NUMBER (1,000)	%	ACRES	% CHANGE
1930	313	---	55	---
1935	311	---	63	+14
1940	291	-7	66	+ 4
1945	264	-10	74	+13
1950	251	-46	82	+11
1954	216	-14	96	+16
1959	138	-36	135	+41
1964	109	-21	163	+21
1969	73	-34	221	+36
1974	54	-26	267	+20

Source: U. S. Census of Agriculture.

TABLE 4

PROPORTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN FARMS BY FARM SIZE, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1974

Farm Size (Acres)	1950	1954	1964	1969	1974
Small					
Under 10	0.7	0.8	0.2	0.1	*
10-49	15.0	11.5	5.7	3.2	2.2
50-69	6.0	4.8	3.2	2.5	2.1
70-99	10.0	8.9	6.5	5.3	4.3
Medium					
100-139	9.8	9.1	7.2	6.4	5.5
140-179	8.6	7.9	6.8	6.2	5.3

Large					
180-219	5.1	5.1	4.9	4.8	4.2
220-259	3.9	4.1	4.0	4.2	3.8
Gigantic					
260-499	12.8	13.7	14.5	15.6	14.7
500-999	11.3	12.1	15.0	16.2	16.3
1,000 or more	16.9	22.0	32.0	35.6	41.6

*Less Than 0.5%

Source: U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1974

Small farms (under 100 acres) accounted for nearly one-third of Mississippi farm land in 1950, but less than 10% in 1974. Medium size farms (100-179 acres) comprised 18% of the farm land in Mississippi in 1950 and 9% in 1974. The proportion of all farm land in Mississippi in large farms was about the same (circa 9%) at both points in time. The proportion of land in gigantic farms increased from about 40% in 1950 to over 70% in 1974. Kingdom and fiefdom size agricultural enterprises of 1,000 acres or worse increased their occupancy from 17% to 42% of the state's farm land between 1950 and 1974 (Table 5).

Access and Capital Requirements

The attitude of "change agents" has frequently been to conceive of an abundance of "many small farms with limited sales of agricultural products,"[16] rather than in terms of access to land. Similarly, there seems to have been a tendency to blandly disregard displacement of the many in the interest of "efficiency and higher farm income,"[17] and to regard as ameliorative changes which have in balance resulted in critical social consequences.[18] In the past, agriculture was an arena wherein it was possible to become largely self sufficient through sweat equity. By change and contrast, "Farming and ranching today are 'big businesses.' A few generations ago almost anyone could enter into the production aspects of the industry. This is no longer true. It is very difficult for the young[19] man of today to obtain sufficient funds to invest in a farm. Farm value has increased over 15 times since 1935."[20]

Increased farm size coupled with the increased price of farm land and rising production costs have helped to alter the capital structure requisite for contemporary agricultural activity. This alteration appears to have changed the "agricultural ladder" whereby one could enter the occupational arena as a worker and acquire sufficient capital during a lifetime to move into full owner-operator status. As the need for capital in agriculture increases, a change away from the so-called family farm structure may be anticipated.[21]

Even the "family farm" may become much like a large-scale business enterprise involving large amounts of borrowed capital for operations which may represent inherited opportunities under the control of a family, but which cannot be aptly considered under the traditional context of a "family farm."

The overall picture may be described as one of "rapid change in Mississippi from a labor-intensive small farm system with high proportions of tenancy to mechanized farming with predominantly ownership tenure...In the space of two decades, the state's agriculture has changed from an essentially self-sufficient family farm type of production to one which is essentially of an industrial-commercial nature, efficiently maintained by a much smaller expenditure of manpower."[22] These changes have been described as "probably an inevitable outcome of the modernizing trend in agriculture."[23]

Value of Farm Property

One of the relatively heinous aspects of farm change in Mississippi has been the runaway increase in the price of farm land (Table 5). Between 1969-1974 average farm prices rise from a mere humane average value of $51,600 to an unconscionable $101,000. The average value per farm in Mississippi in 1974 was about four times what it had been in 1964.

TABLE 5

AVERAGE FARM VALUE, MISSISSIPPI, 1930-1974

YEAR	AVERAGE VALUE* PER FARM ($1,000)	PER ACRE (DOLLARS)
1930	1.8	33
1935	1.2	19
1940	1.6	25
1945	2.5	33
1950	4.6	55
1954	7.1	74
1959	14.3	106
1964	24.3	150
1969	51.6	234
1974	101.1	379

*Value of land and buildings
Source: U.S. Census of Agriculture

High prices for farm land have several undesirable effects. As it increases the assets of farmers, though no particular effort of their own, it may be promotive of proportionately greater expectations from and claims against the rest of society by the agriculturally privileged.[24] We could come to the point wherein those who have the privilege of farm proprietorship begin to cite their very opulence ("investment" or the magnitude of return they could realize from sale of assets) as reason why increased price assaults should be made against consumers.[25] It may also provide an incentive for expansion by borrowing against assets.[26] There is also the potential threat of escalated real estate taxes,[27] and the corallary danger of special assessments for agricultural land wherein those who do not own property subsidize those who do.[28]

The February 1977 average value of farm real estate in Mississippi was 117% higher than the 1967 index and 362% higher than the 1957 figure. The average value of farm land in Mississippi in 1977 was a whopping $404, less than $50 below the national average. The detrimental effect of urbanization and population growth in the increased price of farmland in Mississippi is reflected in the higher averages around sizable metropolitan areas.[29]

High land prices discourage would-be part time farmers from obtaining "a lot or 'small farm in the country.'"[30] Some of the increase in price is caused by the demand of current farm owners to expand.[31] "Most of the farms on the market are bought up by existing farmers. Newcomers have a hard time coming up with the cash to buy the high-priced land, not to mention the burden of financing the operation at today's spiraling cost of inputs."[32]

Decline in Tenancy

Perhaps the most optimistic aspect of agricultural change in Mississippi has been the decline in tenancy. The proportion of full owners among Mississippi farmers in 1969 (72.3%) was nearly twice that of 1950 (41%). The proportion of tenants was reduced from 52% in 1950 to less than 7% in 1974. A decline of 14.5 percentage points (from 23.5% to 9.0%) occured in the period 1964-1969.

To the extent this change represents either 1) increase in ownership, or 2) alteration of occupation and attendant life-styles which represent an improved level-of-living, the decline in tenancy may be regarded as one of the great improvements in Mississippi's agricultural picture over the past generation. However, the number of full owners and part owners of farms also decreased.

TABLE 6

FARM TENANCY, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1974

TENURE CATEGORY	1950	1959	1964	1969	1974
Full Owners					
Percent of Total	41.0	54.0	59.2	72.3	73.7
Percent White	77.4	76.4	77.6	76.7	NA
Percent Nonwhite	22.6	23.6	22.4	23.3	NA
Tenants					
Percent of Total	51.6	32.3	23.5	9.0	6.9
Percent of White	59.6	27.5	27.8	27.5	NA
Percent of Nonwhite	40.4	72.5	72.2	72.5	NA

Source: Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi Farming and Nonfarming Population A Comparison of Characterisitics and Trends 1950-1970, p. 7; W.A. Stacey, et al, Mississippi's Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 18, 1966) pp. 3-4; 1974 Census of Agriculture, Mississippi, Preliminary Report (November, 1976).

In 1930 over 70% of the farm operators in Mississippi were tenants, and nearly two-thirds of all operators were tenants in 1940. Farm tenancy was recognized as a major social problem during the 1930s when the Great Depression dramatized chronic concentrations of poverty in rural areas.[33] The sharecropping tenancy system[34] was born of the old plantation system. It produced many families of wealth contrasted to numerous families whose plight has been described as one of family heads "trying by some means to hold onto a spinning world until by some means enabled to get a grip on a better way of life. He knows he cannot buy land of his own from the profits of the sharecropping. He knows just as well that he cannot save until he earns, and that he cannot earn much more than a bare living..."

In contrast to the agricultural censuses from 1930 through 1954, the 1959 census showed that ownership (which accounted for 54% of all farm operators) had become the dominant form of farm tenure in Mississippi. In 1964, 59% of all farm operators were full owners, and 72% in 1969. However, the actual number of full owners decreased from over 100,000 in 1950 to about 65,000 in 1964, about 52,500 in 1969, and about 42,000 in 1974. Consequently, the optimistic picture reflected in the decline in tenancy is somewhat offset by the real decline in the number of full owner farms. This would indicate the decline in tenancy has not been accomplished by increased flexibility or possibility of access in the tenure ladder, thus possibly perhaps offsetting the apparently optimistic picture reflected by the decline in the proportion of tenant operated farms.

Farm Mechanization

Mississippi turned the decade into the thirties with an agriculturally dominated mule powered economy. Ten years later less than 3% of the farms in Mississippi had tractors,[34] and well under 20% of the farming operations of breaking, discing, and harrowing were performed by tractor power.[35]

Between 1940 and 1969 the percent of farms equipped with trucks and tractors increased from 6% and 2.7% respectively to almost 70%. The State's 1969 farm group had a larger percentage of food freezer ownership and about the same percentage of television ownership as the urban population. Wholesale improvement in farm levels-of-living has been one of the most notable and far reaching changes over the past several decades.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE OF FARMS AND/OR FARM HOUSEHOLDS POSSESSING SPECIFIED EQUIPMENT AND APPLIANCES, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1974

YEAR	TV	PHONE	HOME FREEZER	AUTOS	TRUCKS	TRACTORS
1950	NA	6.5	4.5	26.8	20.0	12.9
1954	13.7	26.7	16.8	39.1	32.0	24.4
1959	NA	26.7	42.6	52.8	44.5	37.2
1964	79.1	40.2	66.4	65.1	55.5	47.5
1969	NA	90.6	71.5	60.4	69.3	69.4
1974	NA	NA	NA	NA	77.3	76.6

Note: It is impossible to determine whether there was a 100% overlap in farms/farm households possessing either an auto or a truck. However, over one-fourth of the farmers in Mississippi in 1969 had more than one auto, a proportion close to the urban rate (34%) and exceeding the rural nonfarm rate. The urban population is greatly disadvantaged in terms of food freezer ownership (34%). Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Non-Farming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950-1970. (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin No. 809, 1974).

The actual number of trucks and tractors on Mississippi farms exceeded the actual number of farms by 5,345 and 19,350 respectively. Mississippi farms with trucks average 1.4 trucks per farm, and Mississippi farms with tractors average 1.7 tractors per farm.

Source: Bryant op. cit., and 1974 Census of Agriculture, Preliminary Report, Mississippi.

Black Farm Population

During 1940-1970 the black farm population of Mississippi decreased by 85%, with a decrease of 63% occurring during the decade of the 1960s. The white farm population decreased by 75% during 1940-1970. The 1960-1970 decrease in Mississippi's white farm population was 37%. Blacks comprised over one-half of the Mississippi farm population in 1940 and 1950. As of 1970 blacks comprised about 42% of the state's farm population.

Mississippi had more total black farm landowners than any Southern State in 1969. In fact, black land owners in Mississippi accounted for about one-quarter of the black farm landowners in the South. Furthermore, nearly one-fourth of all farm landowners in Mississippi are black (compared to only 6.3% for the entire South). The total average of farms of black owners as a percentage of total acreage of farms of all farm owners is greatest in Mississippi. Mississippi had more acres in farms by black owners than any other State as well as the highest total value of farm land owned by blacks. The decline in the black farm landowners in Mississippi during 1954-1969 (47.6%) was lower than any Southern State except Kentucky, and compares to a regional decrease of 61.9%. Although average size per farm of black landowners increased by 13.6% during 1954-1969, this increase was less than the regional rate (+30.1%).[36] The apparent indication is one of a long-term opportunity for land possession and occupancy of land by blacks in Mississippi unequaled elsewhere.

TABLE 8

BLACK FARM LAND OWNERSHIP IN MISSISSIPPI COMPARED WITH THE SOUTH, SPECIFIED CHARACTERISTICS

	Mississippi	South
Black Full Owners as % of all Full Owners	23.3	6.3
Total Acreage of Black Full Owners as % of All Full Owners	11.5	2.6
Decline in Black Farm Owners 1954-1969	47.6	61.9

Decline in Black Farm Owners 1964-1969	24.0	32.4
Avera acres Per Farm of Black Owners as % of All Owners	49.2	40.6

Source: Lester M. Salmon, Land and Minority Enterprise (Washington: Office of Minority Business Enterprise, 1976), pp. 5-14.

TABLE 9

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MISSISSIPPI FARM POPULATION, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1940-1970

	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
Total Number			
1940	1,403,884	629,766	774,118
1960	540,304	243,659	296,645
1970	261,492	151,521	109,504
Percent of Total			
1940	100.0	44.9	55.1
1960	100.0	45.1	54.9
1970	100.0	58.1	41.9
Numerical Change			
1940-1960	-863,580	-386,107	-477,473
1960-1970	-278,812	-92,138	-187,141
Percent Change			
1940-1960	-61.5	-61.3	-61.7
1960-1970	-51.0	-37.0	-63.0

Source: Mark Lowry, "Population and Economy Part I: Agriculture," Mississippi Geographer, II (Spring, 1974), p. 34.

Between 1960 and 1970 the black farm population in Mississippi decreased by 63%, compared to a decrease of 37% in the white farm population during this time (Table 9). Most of this decline was brought about by the movement of blacks out of agricultural tenancy. The percentage of black full owners among all full owners of farms in Mississippi remained relatively constant at circa 23% between 1950 and 1969. The actual number of black owners, however, decreased from over 23,000 to about 12,500 during this period.

The New Deal effort to "do something" for the rural "poor" though cooperatives, improved tenure leases (to prevent land barrons from carnivorous extraction from tenants through "loose" contractual arrangements), sanitation, migrant labor camps, and other token measures to "help" poor persons involved in or displaced by agriculture, were more than offset by the adverse effects of other policies. Marshall[37] explains:

> ...Particularly disastrous for poor farmers was the Agricultural Adjustment Act, which sought to stabilize farm income by limiting the acerage of cash crops. Removing agricultural surplusses from the market, paying agricultural subsidies, and promoting resource conservation...these measures primarily benefitted larger farmers who had sufficient land and capital to take advantage of their provisions...Simultaneously, the land grant college system, responding to the interest of larger commercial farmers, developed plant and livestock strains and machines which were not adaptive to the uses of small farmers...

Part of the "New Deal" agricultural policy was to maintain farm income by creating a tie to the public purse through subsidation[38] on the one hand and a limitation of output on the other.[39] Farm income was to be raised by resulting higher prices supplemented by direct cash gifts from the public treasury.[40] In terms of a social accounting, whether the program raised average[41] income is far less important than its distributional impact and its externalities or serendipitous effects.

Welfare Disproportionate to Need

In the 1940s government programs "chose not to undertake financial assistance to low income rural families while spending billions in direct financial assistance to aid the upper income American farmer,"[42] a policy that continued in the fifties and sixties without substantial modification. In 1955 the Department of Agriculture released a study documenting the extent of rural poverty which indicated that in 1955 there were 1.5 million farmers with incomes of $1,000 or less.[43] The issue of assistance to the rural poor was resolved by what Sen. Paul Douglas described as a "conversation bill" as opposed to a program of direct financial assistance. The Agricultural (now Cooperative) Extension Service was expanded to challenge rural poverty through counseling and information services. In 1956 direct financial assistance which accrued primarily to large commercial farmers was provided by a raising of price supports and a fient toward production repression through the Soil Bank.[44]

Although the supposedly intended and announced goal of the supply-management agricultural policies instituted in the 1930s "has been to alleviate poverty on farms,"[45] landowners rather than labor have been main beneficiaries of the price-support program. The price-support program has increased the capitalized values of land owners. As farms have changed hands at higher and higher prices, a substantial share of the realized capital gain has been channeled into the non-farm sector through inheritance with a resulting increase in fixed cost and reduced net income to the new owner.[46]

Agricultural programs, justified on rhetorical immagery of the "family" farmer and the alleged equity of "parity", continue to provide most help to those persons of privilege who need help least.[47] According to Marshall, "Agribusiness interests have been able to perpetuate their control over the system through a constellation of polictical and economic powers extending from Congress to the local Sheriff's office."[48]

Effect of Agricultural Policy

Agricultural policy over the last four decades illustrates the contention that the dual welfare of the United States is structured to perpetuate poverty consisting of "one set of welfare programs for the dominant, nonpoor majority, all in one way or another protected by camouflage, and another set for the poor..." There is no escaping the conclusion that agricultural policy has provided a massive subsidy to middle-and upper-income agriculturalists, and by "encouraging increased concentration in agriculture, has contributed directly to the economic deprivation of the rural poor."[48]

Furthermore, it might be described as an example of a "large government program that takes from the poor to give to the least-poor." Since agricultural policy consists largely of government actions to maintain high food prices, it is paid for by higher food prices as well as by taxes. Higher food prices have the effect of a highly regressive tax since poorer people spend a larger proportion of their income on food. The farm program consists of a slightly progressive benefit (one which benefits those with higher incomes somewhat more than proportionately to those incomes) financed by a regressive tax (one which taxes those with higher incomes somewhat less than proportionately to those incomes).[49]

COMBATTING RURAL POVERTY

As previously noted, Ford has pointed out that the rural poor in the South have been trapped by simultaneous change in both the agricultural and nonagricultural sectors of the economy. He contends that government subsidy programs have encouraged displacement of large quantities of agricultural labor while structural change in the nonagricultural sector constrained employment opportunities for the low-skilled labor. The result has been a set of economic conditions wherein substantial economic growth could take place without a significant reduction in the number of rural poor.

Ruttan has suggested that a first step in a realistic effort to deal with rural poverty is to recognize that it is not appropriate to gear efforts at reducing poverty to a) programs to increase agricultural production or b) to increase nonfarm employment in rural areas since 1) production expansion will not provide new jobs in rural areas and 2) the potential number of new jobs created by such activities in the remaining poverty pockets will at best be limited relative to the size of the poverty problem.

Ruttan further points out that a prosperous agriculture no longer implies a prosperous rural community. The rural community and commerical agriculture are no longer joined in a mutuality of interest stemming from the possibility of a common solution to their economic problems since the economic relationship that previously existed through the product market and the market for purchased inputs is rapidly disappearing.[50]

Several suggestions are offered as indicating a direction in which it would seem desirable to move in order to effectively combat rural poverty and respect the Jeffersonain principle of increased access to opportunity. These do not sacrifice overall community welfare for economic expansion which may run counter to community interests. They include suggestions regarding rural community development, local markets for local production, government fiscal policy, technological research and service orientation, direct marketing, self-sufficient technology, rural industrial development, and theory of welfare economics.

Rural Community Development

Goldschmidt, with direct relevance to the search for the causes and consequences of contemporary poverty and its effect on the self-concept, dignity, and opportunity for autonomous independence of the contemporary population, has noted that one of the basic beliefs which set the course of American history was that the nature of land tenure is closely related to the character of the social order. American society, he states, was built upon the assumption that the nation would be largely populated by independent enterpreneurs, artisans, self-employed professionals, and independent farmers.[52]

Goldschmidt has also pointed out that the vision of the future under increased corporate control of the land or landholding in large segments by fewer persons is not an inevitable development.[53] And, as Hightower has pointed out, "before the family farmer is discarded-we ought to take a hard look at where we are being led. It is not just the family farm that is threatened by agribusiness, it is the price and quality of the American food supply."[54] He adds that in a corporate-controlled integrated processing and marketing "efficient" system food system prices go up rather than down. Even this may not be the biggest price consumers pay for corporate food production, since 1) substitution of technology for labor, 2) standardization and monopoly control of the food supply, and 3) synthetic foods are a product of the "brave new agriculture." An understanding of contemporary rural poverty requires a recognition of the effect of national farm policy. Generally ignored, however, is the degree to which the massive transformation in Southern agriculture in the last four decades *lies in the realm of political rather than market considerations.*

Few will argue against the proposition that the nature of rural land tenure is intimately related to the character of the social order. There is a distinct historical correlation between democratic conditions and free-holder status of soil tillers in control of their own enterprise and societies where farming lands are owned and controlled by a mangement class wherein those engaged in actual production are merely serfs, peasants, or hired laborers. Indeed, it might be argued that concentration on microeconomic problems of farm enterprises to the neglect of larger intermediate microeconomic factors (ownership, autonomy, opportunity, access) has factored into numerous contemporary social problems. Agriculture based upon the essentials of industrial production--extensive holdings, heavy mechanization and capitalization--which translate organizational elements of urban life onto the rural landscape may well foster differentials of power that lead to alienation and apathy in the mass population.

Goldschmidt's comparison of a California town surrounded by large scale enterprises with another surrounded by family operator units "showed that the latter was superior in all measures reflecting the quality of life--income, level of living, social and physical amenities, social and religious institutions, and the degree of local control of the political powers." Whereas in the former community nearly two-thirds were agricultural laborers and about one-fifth were either independent entrepreneurs, professional, or white collar workers, in the family farm community over one-half were in the latter category and only 29% were laborers for other owners. Smith, in a study which illustrates how the social class pattern of American agriculture varies in relation to the degree of concentration of agricultural production, found that in regions of traditional family farm operations the rural population tended to belong to a middle class social strata. When Goldschmidt correlated Smith's data on the proportion of population in five class strata with Nikolitch's study of "farms" which produced gross sales in excess of $100,000, he found a strong correlation between concentrated land ownership and an area social structure composed of a small but substantial elite class and an overwhelmingly larger lower class. "The high correlation" between the relative importance of large-scale farm operation and the proportion of the population in the 'lower class' offers evidence in support of the agrarian thesis that family farms are conducive to democratic rural communities."[55]

Locally, the Mississippi Delta is regarded as fabulously wealthy in contrast to the northeast hill country, a differential that is popularly recognized in observation, legend, and romance.[56] However, it has been in this "rich farm land of the Delta...ranking among the top counties in the nation in cotton production,"[57] a "flat shelf of fertile alluvial soil about two counties wide along the Mississippi River, from Memphis to the Yazoo River at Vicksburg--the domain of the Delta planters, masters of huge plantations...one of the greatest cotton producing regions of the world...," a "wonderful area, blessed with fertile soil, favorable climate, and a fabulous water resource, and populated by intelligent, energetic people...destined to be a major producer of food,"[58] that the debilitating circumstances associated with poverty in Mississippi have been most pronounced.[59] Boyd and Morgan,[60] in a review of findings from the cooperative study conducted by Agricultural Experiment Stations in nine Southern States 1958-1965 on "Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Areas of the South" describe the Mississippi Delta[61] as "characterized by a low-level-of-living, low total family income, low participation, low joint decision making, small portions of farm and home owners, and a large portion of nonwhites. It is relatively a very depressed area." The tenure situation in the Delta, which involves a "relatively low average rate of ownership...,"[62] has not received the attention it prima facie mertis as a variable in the etiology of area poverty.

Development of Local Markets for Local Production

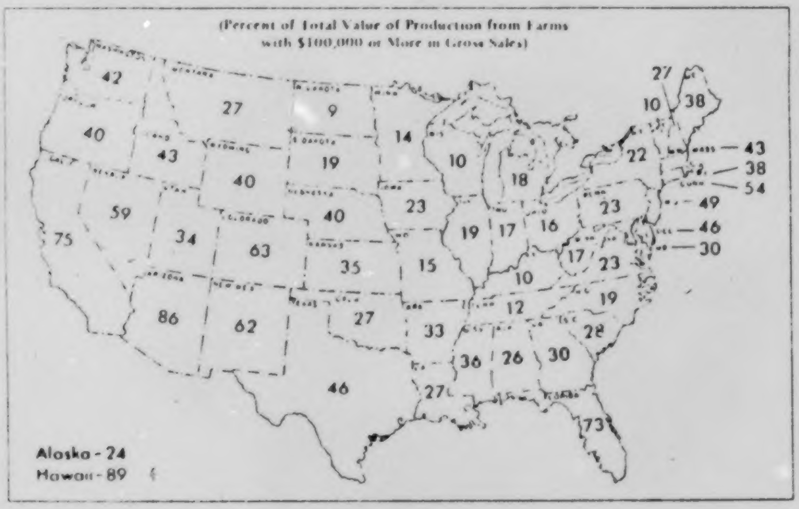
Observation of the production sources of income from agricultural activity in Mississippi would seem to indicate the feasibility of developing whatever foreign markets to non-socialist countries possible which might serve as recipients for U.S. exports wherever this can be achieved without undue public subsidy. This would seem desirable not only for crops produced on mass acerage, such as soybeans and rice, but also for crops which might be produced in small quantities in family farm type operations and perhaps coalesced, graded, and packaged at a central site after delivery to regional collecting centers. The comparatively small quantity of vegetables sold would seem to augur for extensive extension and state agricultural department effort to develop local marketing plans for locally grown produce. It might well be worthwhile to explore potentials for locally available merchandising of Mississippi agricultural products too.

A question might be raised as to whether it is really necessary for local retail establishments to market imported produce which could be locally grown and marketed. It may be that most retail supply channels are geared to handle mass produced quantities within a uniform size, color, and quality range which could be difficult to achieve if supply were dependent on variant producers. At the same time, exploration of channels for local marketing of locally produced products producible on small family farms of 100 acres or less would seem highly desirable in an era of increasing prices and interdependence. It is also possible that with intensive and concerted effort, some of the difficulties, such as the arranging of retail contacts, could be placed on the agenda for intensive effort within currently extant agricultural and extension service operations.[63]

Governmental Fiscal Policy: Subsidation and Taxation

Farm production in the United States is concentrated in a relatively small number of farms. In 1974 the 115,000 largest farms (sales of $100,000 or more) were 4% of all farms, but made 47% of all sales. Figure 4 shows the percent of total value of agricultural production in Mississippi by farms with sales in excess of $100,000 in 1969. While the amount of concentration is not as pronounced in Mississippi as it is in some states, over one-third of the total sales in Mississippi in 1969 were by enterprises which made sales in excess of $100,000.

FIGURE 4


(Percent of Total Value of Production from Farms with $100,000 or More in Gross Sales)

Source: Harold F. Breimyer, "The Changing American Farm," Annals, 429 (January, 1977), p. 19.

Such a contrast represents the kind of economic development wherein substantial growth can take place without a significant reduction in the number of the poor. The primary result of economic growth that apportions agricultural income in larger and larger segments and among fewer and fewer persons with sufficient capitalization for investment in intensive technology is likely to be a shift from rural poverty to urban poverty. Massive technological development in Southern agriculture has displaced large quantities of low-skilled labor for the nonagricultural sector to absorb.[64]

It would appear that at the macro level the rural poor have been trapped by simultaneous structural change in both the agricultural and nonagricultural sectors of the economy. In the agricultural sector, "a politically biased government subsidy program has permitted the large commercial farmer to integrate new capital and new technology into his farming operations, thereby displacing large quantities of low-skilled workers."[65] At the same time, structural change in the nonagricultural sector constrained employment opportunities for low-skilled labor.[66] The number of laborers employed in Mississippi, for example, decreased by 49.8% between 1950 and 1970 (Appendix B, Table 42).

In 1974 farms with sales of $100,000 or more collectively accounted for nearly two-thirds of all farm sales in Mississippi. The 1974 sales distribution reflects considerable regression since 1964, when farms with yearly sales of $100,000 or more (an income equivalent to a decade of labor for many working persons) accounted for circa one-third of total farm sales. In 1974 farms with sales in excess of $40,000 accounted for 82% of Mississippi farm sales, compared to 55% in 1964. Farms with sales of less than $10,000 made 24% of the total farm sales in Mississippi in 1964, but only 7% in 1974.

Government price and income programs have 1) increased the tax burdens of the poor and agriculturally nonfranchised, 2) have encouraged the concentration of production in larger sized units, and 3) have artificially restricted yeoman opportunity by increasing land and entry costs.[67] These developments were particularly "true prior to the imposition of a dollar limit on size of payment going to a single farmer. Working most in favor of larger farms," Breimyer opines, "have been the various income tax rules."[68] Naylor and Clotfelter express the view that the Department of Agriculture should depart from its present policy of forty years duration of subsidation of large-scale capital intensive farm operations. At the State level steps would seem to be in order to insure that agriculture does not provide a taxhaven for wealthy natives nor for out-of-state corporate type investors.[69] Among the possible developments which might be considered to determine whether feasible and/or desirable are the following:

a) Encouragement of land grant colleges and extension service reorientation toward research on the development and utilization of crops, machines, techniques, and technical assistance for small to moderate (say, less than 200 acres) size farm operators.

b) Restriction on businesses with major investments in non-farms from engaging in agricultural production.

c) Prevention of multi-state farming and/or ranching enterprises from engaging in agricultural production or owning land in Mississippi.

d) Tax breaks with diminishing size, and a graduated land tax with larger holdings taxed at a higher rate.

Goldschmidt has pointed out that "Government policies with respect to tax laws, agricultural subsidies and farm labor have been portent forces affecting the growth of large-scale corporate farming. This growth cannot therefore be said to be natural; it is the result of forcefeeding, of the injection of fiscal hormones. If the growth of corporate farming can be forced-fed, so too can the time-honored traditions of American life."[70]

Barnes has recommended a state severance tax which would fall most heavily on extractive companies who currently benefit from a wide variety of federal and State tax preferences as an highly appropriate levey since "the resources they extract are a gift of nature to all, not to just a privileged few," plus an unearned increment tax (exempting small farms and businesses) which would be borne "almost entirely by large landowning corporations and real estate speculators" with greatest impact on owners of urban and urban fringe land as appropriate steps consistent with the Jeffersonian principle that ownership of the land in small parcels by those who work and live on it is a key to alleviating poverty, easing urban over-crowding, reducing welfare costs and unemployment, protecting the environment and maximizing individual autonomy conducive to republican government.[71]

Government policies should be structured so as to minimize increases in land values.[72] This goal is likely to be compounded by the threat of population increase (particularly in an area as desirable for exploitation as Mississippi) and accompanying land development and expansion of large-scale agribusiness. Public policy makers might well consider those policy measures consistent with republican government which meet Jefferson's advice that "it is not to soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land."[73]

Technological Research and Service Orientation

Hightower and DeMarco have recommended that question be raised as to whether the costs of the "mechanical, chemical, genetical and managerial research conducted by the land grant college complex" do not overwhelm the benefits. If anti-poverty policy is to be a criterion of judgement, the question of who benefits, the distribution of benefits, and at whose expense they are made are important considerations.

Hightower and DeMarco[74] suggest that the research orientation of the land grant colleges should be redirected in the interest of consumers and small size operations rather than being designed to "sell" the consumer on products, to determine what influences shopper's decision making, or to strengthen the art of enticing consumer appeal through packaging. It might be wise, for example, if the research emphasis on strains of vegetables which can be machine harvested[75] were replaced with or equalized by an emphasis on small scale and reduced-cost technology.[76]

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The increased capital requirements per farm operator is making it increasingly difficult for those who are not large farmers or who are not wealthy otherwise to effectively control viable production units so as to enable achievement of "economies of size" and adoption of new technology.[77] Small farms may be subjected to high costs of machinery per unit of production.[78] One way the state and county agriculture industry-serving complex could effectuate the concern for smaller and part-time farmers and gardeners[79] would be to establish rental programs to provide modern equipment under the auspicies of the branch experiment stations and/or the county cooperative extension entities. Thus, equipment could be rented on a daily basis (with limitations on the number of days rental so as not to subsidize large operations) at low cost to gardeners, small farmers, and agriculturally interested persons who could not make such capital purchases.

Such equipment as mechanical cotton pickers is not envisioned, but the rental of small tractors, bush hogs, cultivators, etc. suitable for small scale activity would seem desirable. In addition, the operation of small scale assistance equipment (such as bean shellers, canning facilities) for a nominal price for the use of gardeners and small farmers (as done by some Community Action Agencies) would seem to be a legitimate enterprise for the cooperative extension enterprise.[80]

Direct Marketing and Self Sufficient Technology

Effectuation of markets for small farmers and gardeners is a needed thrust of policy developments. Such developments should be beneficial to both consumers and producers. Direct marketing between growers and consumers should have a number of desirable spin-offs, including increased producer and consumer control of foods[81] and promotion of area food self-sufficiency.[82] The benefits of roadside fruit stand marketing aside and not withstanding,[83] direct marketing needs to become sufficiently extensive as to undercut the symbiotic relationship between corporate agriculture and the chemical-machinery-credit industries.

Such developments can be influential in restoring the traditional link between farm and city and help "breathe vitality into city neighborhoods by reviving the marketplace as a regular feature of city life."[84]. National, regional, community, neighborhood and individual self-sufficiency, all of which relate directly to the care, health, fertility, and ownership of the soil, are extremely significant causes if the prospects of massive anxiety and social dislocation are to be avoided in an age whose cornerstone policies have assumed "an ever-expanding and beneficial technology coupled with an inexpensive and ever-abundant fossil fuel resource to power it."[85] Self-sufficient technology and freedom from dependence on increasingly costly items is important not only for the future of America's farms and the people who dwell on them, but is an important urban need. As expressed by the Institute for Local Self Reliance:

> New intensive vegetable and fish growing techniques, if practiced in the vacant lots, rooftops and basements of our cities, can enable the production of substantial quantities of food right within our municipal borders. Were the "wastes" of our cities to be recycled efficiently, cities would be valuable mines for fertilizer, minerals and metals. Were real property and productive enterprises cooperatively owned by the community, neighborhoods would be able to expand their flow of income, increase their basic wealth in terms of property and skills, and also protect local properties from the speculative pressures of the real estate market.[86]

Decentralizing technologies such as solar collectors for thermal energy and solar cells for electrical generation and development of food production systems appropriate to high density population areas (such as rooftop hydroponics or intensive organic gardening) would move in the direction of extrication from present technology and social organization. Food buying cooperatives[87] are illustrative of a potential area wherein extension service expertise and community organizing momentum could possibly be profitably employed.

Theory of Welfare Economics

In order to alleviate the magnitude of poverty it is necessary to determine and rectify factors that cause poverty. Some causes are "natural" in the sense of differences in luck, health, chance, age, accident, skill, size, mental endowment, aptitude, and the opportunity to use those faculties of which one is possessed in ways that bring appreciation and renumeration to him. Other causes are "political" in the sense that poverty is the product of social institutions. The massive transformation of Southern agriculture in the last four decades, which has witnessed the apportioning of income from plant and animal husbandry in larger segments among fewer persons, lies in the realm of political rather than merely in market considerations. An understanding of rural poverty today requires a recognition of the affect of national farm policy as it effects the causes and consequences of poverty.[88]

Bishop has suggested the appropriateness of a new welfare economics that provides a better theory of social investment and focuses more sharply upon the distribution of costs and benefits from public policy. He expresses the qualified optimism that hopefully the time is approaching when those sufficiently favored to be agricultural producers "will no longer be able to obtain high price supports for farm commodities under the pretext of increasing the incomes of low-income farm families."[89]

Prior to the devastating rise in food prices in 1973 the federal farm price-support program cost the American tax-payer $5 billion a year in direct budgetary outlays plus an additional $4.5 million in higher food prices. Programs which funnel the majority of their resources into subsidies for the wealthy farmers with less benefits going to the poor families are prima facie candidates for revocation if any supposed benefit to low-income families is a criteria. Naylor and Clotfelter, noting that "our present national farm policy does virtually nothing to alleviate the problems of the rural South," recommended a "phasing out of the price-support program with the objective of completely terminating it in five years."[90] And, most apt and elegant is the point that Van Gorder has highlighted with sledgehammer intensity:

> The farmer needs an end to union racketeering, monopoly, and restraint of trade--not unionization of farming. The farmer needs a balanced budget--not more billions spent on socializing the country. The farmer needs lower prices for the things he buys, not artificially higher prices for his government subsidized production. The farmer needs less non-farmer subsidies--not more farmer subsidies. The farmer needs...more markets--not fewer...less government--not more. And so do all good citizens.[91]

Rural Industrial Development

Strategy for enticement of industry into rural areas is a longstanding objective which has generated considerable initiative, effort, and inspiration.[92] State and federal government "have sought to help rural areas attract new industry. The Economic Development Administration, the 1972 Rural Development Act, and the industrial development agencies in numerous states"[93] have been expressions of a belief that "more jobs, more people, more income, larger tax base, more and/or better services" is a public desideratum achieved through industry recruitment. It is probably an entirely accurate description of general policy in Mississippi that "a major goal of the State is to increase her income producing capacity through industrial growth and development."[94]

Experience with industrial or factory employment in Mississippi soon made it apparent that off-farm work insured an improved income source for low-income families and was an effective and direct route to increased levels-of-living.[95] Increased employment opportunities for female household members in low wage industries can be a significant factor in allowing for either a) small farm ownership or b) improved levels-of-living among owners. Furthermore, small farms can function as a viable anti-poverty device by supplementing retirement or low-wage incomes. Put another way, farm incomes can be supplemented by low wage industrial or pension incomes. The small farm may offer self-regulated employment opportunities to satisfy creative, expressionistic, or autonomous urges.[96]

With rural industrialization having become a zealously pursued goal, and with a noticeable trend for manufacturing plants to locate in rural areas,[97] the question arises of "will industrializing rural areas contribute to the solution of the twin problems of rural poverty and urban blight, or will it merely hasten the spread of urban ills?"[98] As desirable as rural industrial development may be, "rural industrial development is not a panacea for all the ills of rural areas."[99] It is important to point out that even the economic welfare of recipients of an area which receives new industry is not necessarily enhanced by the acquisition of high wage industry if the low-income persons in the area are not in position to take advantage of the jobs provided. It is entirely possible to have an increase in per capita income and apparently in the economic health of an area to the extent that increased per capita income is the criterion of measurement without proportionate benefits necessarily flowing to the low income population of the area. This may occur when the beneficiaries of the jobs are in-migrants from other areas.[100]

Although Mississippi has the lowest per capita income in the nation, this does not necessarily imply that the quality of life in Mississippi is the lowest in the nation. Furthermore, even if the quality-of-life in Mississippi were the lowest in the nation, it is not necessarily a truism that increased per capita income would be curative. Ultimately the relation between income and quality of life depends on the ratio between income and the cost of obtaining desired amenities. Consequently, where quality of life amenities are at a premium, even significant changes in income may be insufficient to make up the differential. There is a tendency to focus attention on the expected benefits of industrial development without considering its costs. It is important to recognize that measures of economic impact may not reflect benefits to low income individuals. Indeed, it can involve a circulation of wealth with only minimum impact on area labor. Consequently, one must be careful when looking at general trends since they do not necessarily mean that all groups benefit or even that some do not actually experience decrements in their quality of life .

According to Summers and Lang some case studies of rural industrialization have indicated "that the operations of the local labor market often work against the needs of the people for whom rural industrial development allegedly has been promoted."[101] Although the labor force may expand faster than the ranks of the unemployed, the absolute numbers of persons in economic distress may be unchanged or even slightly increased. According to Youmans, many rural communities have painfully discovered that the expected beneficial results from industrialization have not been achieved.[102]

Summers and Lang challenge the notion that industrial development is good "simply because it may marginally increase average marginal income" with the suggestion that "the basic issue boils down to whether growth in "community" well-being should be purchased, at the expense of the disadvantaged."[103] Their evidence challenges the belief that new industry will substantially improve the fiscal burden of nonmetropolitan communities. They also feel that the anticipated multiplier effect on employment and tax revenues may be largely illusionary. It is the judgement of Summers and Lang that "In some instances the structure of the community and the character of the particular industry merge to the benefit of both parties. More often the industry clearly gains while having a negligible or even negative effect on the host community over the long run."[104]

Although "industrial development" is a highly visible and supposed prima facie economic improvement variable, communities seeking industry might be well advised that not only will industry not solve all their problems, in fact,"it may create new ones."[105] While low wage plants pay "low" wages, there seems to be considerable merit to the argument that economically depressed areas, if they must have industrial development at all, would benefit most from industrial development which can utilize the labor force available and which inflicts as little in-migration as possible.

A distinct area advantage of low wage industry is its very ability to utilize the labor force available, a development which can have salubrious area benefits. Some rural industries, particularly textiles and electronics, prefer female labor.[105] Mississippi, which is "high in apparel employment,"[106] appears to have been particularly fortunate in attracting a good distribution of low wage industry capable of utilizing female and other low skill labor.

Till notes that "the importance of the 'second worker effect' in raising families from poverty even when wages are low, and the desire of some rural residents to remain where they are, makes very questionable the quick dismissal of rural industry as cheap, runaway firms, essentially exploitative and hence implicitly worthless from a welfare point of view."[107] Such industrial development can prompt part-time farming in an area as operatives and/or wives hook jobs in manufacturing while continuing to carry on a small-scale limited resource agricultural enterprise,[108] thereby meeting several individual and social policy objectives.[109]

SUMMARY

Understanding of contemporary rural poverty requires a recognition of the effect of national farm policy and the degree to which the massive transformations in Southern agriculture are the result of political rather than market considerations. The agricultural revolution has resulted in an approtioning of farm income in larger and larger segments among fewer and fewer recipients. The fact that total farm income may be increasing is not necessarily a sign that area quality of life is improving. Area income does not represent increased social benefits merely because of its magnitude apart from the question of at whose expense and at what opportunity costs the increased income is obtained. Area income may be dramatically increased over time without an appreciable decrease in poverty.

Suggestions offered as directions toward which public policy might be directed with concern for alleviating rural poverty in a framework consistent with republican government and access to opportunity include rural community development, development of local markets for local production, government fiscal policy vis-a-vis subsidation and taxation, technological research and service orientation, direct marketing and self-sufficient technology, theory of welfare economics, and rural industrial development.

CHAPTER ONE -- CONCEPTUALIZATION AND MEASUREMENT OF POVERTY

1. The phrase of course awaited a Madison Avenue type designation for a political program by politicians and strategists who felt they could make a good thing out of poverty (as had been done out of abolition, making the world safe for democracy, opposition to foreign nationalistic socialism, prohibition, patriotism, and "New Deal" welfare) and were determined to devise and implement a strategy for building pipelines of support and logistic transmission belts for mobilizing local resources on behalf of nationally articulated political aims and social objectives. The "War on Poverty" became official policy with enactment of the Economic Opportunity Act (1964), now Community Services Administration Act (1973).

The provisions of the OEO were unique in the evolving structure of State-Federal relations. It meant, among other things, that "the distribution of federal funds could ignore established political boundaries and elected public officials," a development which raised considerable concern about "a tendency on the part of Government in Washington to deal directly with organizations in local communities, bypassing the local governments." Sar A. Levitan, "The Community Action Program: A Strategy to Fight Poverty," Annals, 385 (September, 1969), p. 63.

The Economic Opportunity Act has been described as "unabashedly class legislation, designating a special group in the population as eligible to receive the benefit of the law" whose novelty "lay in the fact that the poor were not represented by trade associations or other conventional organizations." U. S. House of Representatives, Committee on Education and Labor, Hearings on Economic Opportunity Act (Washington: USGPO, 1964), Part 1, p. 332.

According to Sheibla, the "War on Poverty" was successful along several dimensions, including alterations in the power structure by changing political channels through which a considerable amount of federal largesse is dispensed, and helped establish the motion that it is a responsibility of government "to end poverty with monumental federal programs." Pp. 242-250. For argument in advocacy of a form of national socialism to address major problem areas of the poor, see H. E. Berndt, New Rulers in the Ghetto: The Community Development Corporation and Urban Poverty (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1977).

Scheibla evaluated the OEO as "one of the most expensive, scandalous and revolutionary programs ever undertaken by the United States government" through "the most confused, profilgate, and overpaid bureaucracy ever spawned by Congress" in "a poorly prepared program launched on a crash basis for political gain." Shirley Scheibla, Poverty Is Where The Money Is (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1968), pp. 7-8.

Robinson more recently claimed the record of CSA funded entities includes "mismanagement, waste, and corruption" in the forms of graft, tours of Europe, nepotism (one CAA director in NYC reportedly putting ten relatives on the payroll, explaining "I don't discriminate against race, color, creed, sex -- or family), and alleged instances of use of funds and personnel for political purposes, legal fees and bribes for political officials, executive dismissal of a CSA grant busting U.S. Attorney in Pennsylvania, CSA collaboration in the misuse of funds, extravagant travel and entertainment, and triple digit hotel rooms and bar bills for at least one CSA funded entity, and similar phenomena described by Rep. Andrew Maquire as activities to "cheat the poor while claiming to help them." Donald Robinson, "Wake Up to the 'Nightmare' at CSA," Reader's Digest (December, 1978), pp. 143-147. Robinson is quick to cite instances of success stories by CAA programs which "provide hundreds of impoverished senior citizens with the only hot meal they get all day" or give "free physical examinations." He feels "The many good, dedicated employees in the CSA must be encouraged...in their efforts to help the poor."

Since the Community Action Programs were in effect an outgrowth of the civil rights movement and subsequent political and legislative developments, they were not instantly popular among all public officials in Mississippi communities. They did represent a new wave and form of support to a differential class of recipients, a development which held the potential for bringing about considerable cultural and social change. As a new organizational structure through which federal money was to be channeled, the stakes were high as to the determination of recipient entities.

Within Mississippi at least three models or "ideal types" of CAA origin and initiation arose. In the adverse model, initiation and program implementation was achieved without and apart from original endorsement of public officials. Inthe coaptive model, initiative was taken by local officials to organize the program. A third, or cooperative model, incorporated elements of both models, but the origin and initial development was neither totally adverse nor coaptive. Regardless of the model of initiation, issues surrounding OEO programs were complicated, practically and emotionally, by the tenor of the civil rights movement of the times, and their establishment in local communities was often a matter of intense concern, controversy, and heightened feeling. It represented a considerable break with prior precedent in political practice and a divergence from the traditional welfare model social service agencies. The CAPs "must certainly be judged to be an innovative agency which gave the poor their first social and political role." (Levitan, p. 64).

Community Action Agencies were first organized in Mississippi in 1966. There are currently some 20 Community Action Programs in operation in Mississippi. Since their initiation, the Community Action Programs have become stable entities in the social, political, and cultural life of their communities. Mississippi CAA's serve the poor through a variety of programs. Illustrative programs include provisions of garden seeds and canning, elderly nutrition, weatherization, and transportation. Specific programs by particular agencies are listed in the annual report of the Governor's Office of Human

Resources. Most agencies bring in over a million a year federal funds into their service areas for operation of service programs for poor Mississippians.

2. For discussion of the derivation, meaning, and implementation of the Puritan philosophy and its relationship to and significance for social action, see Patricia O. Brooks, The Return of the Puritans(Clifton Park, N.Y.: New Puritan Library, 1976).

3. Sidney Lens, Poverty: America's Enduring Paradox (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969), p. 8.

4. Ibid., p. 3. 5. Ibid., p. 1. 6. Ibid., p. 7. 7. Ibid., p. 8.

8. Ibid., p. 2

9. The indentured servants, for example, were victimized by heavy work, inadequate food, and severe restriction of personal life as if they were not autonomous adults. The ill-treatment of white endured servants is a subject which comes up constantly in colonial accounts. Lens notes that "On arrival in America the indentured servant would be marched to the magistrate's office to take an oath to the king, then put on the auction block. If there was no buyer, the shipmaster would turn him over to a soul driver to be...offered for sale...Not infrequently families were broken up, children going to one master, the wife to another, and the husband to a third. A Philadelphia gentleman who purchased a man, wife, and daughter found that they were his own father, mother, and sister." Poverty, p. 25.

That the indentured servant should scarcely be different from a chattel to be marketed as such for pecuniary purposes such as to pay ship passage is different only in degree to the legal structure wherein, in Caplovitz's contention, contemporary courts "frequently operate as a collection agency for the creditor" and wherein "the consumer does not really receive a fair hearing." William Proxmire, "Foreword," to David Caplovitz, Consumers In Trouble: A Study of Debtors in Default (New York: Free Press, 1974), p. x. According to Proxmire, "...the consumer does not receive justice through our legal system... the system is unfairly weighted on the side of the creditor...Ironically, those creditors who make the most frequent use of courts often use unfair or deceptive practices themselves. Our legal system benefits the unscrupulous and penalizes the weak." Ibid, p. xii. For general discussion of the credit racket menace, see Al Griffin, The Credit Jungle (Chicago: Henry Regenery, 1971). For discussion of harassment and other ruses reflecting the "spirit of bankers" and the relationships between banks and the poor, see Christopher Elias, The Dollar Barrons (New York: Macmillan Pub. Co., 1973). There are many law texts on credit rights as against debtors, few on the theme of debtor rights against creditors. While there has been progress in the evolution of the law relating to debtor and creditor practice, considerable progress remains to be made. For example, the Fair Credit Reporting Act was a needed development, but it is largely corrective of some misfeances rather than preventive.

The abusive tactics and practices of credit reporting and retrieval services are legion. Some of these have been halted by legislation. However, a credit reporting service can still blackmail an alleged debtor on the mere testament of the alleged creditor by the simple process of submitting a bill to a collection agency which the alleged debtor claims is owing to him. The alleged debtor is then tendered a notice to make immediate payment of the amount claimed on pain of adverse information being entered into a credit retrieval and reporting service file without the necessity of any hearing or adjudication of the merits of the claim. At the absolute least, state legislation should be considered to prevent any credit reporting and retrieval service from entering adverse information on the mere testament of its creditor clients.

10. Lens, *Poverty*, p. 8.

11. Melville Ulmer, *The Welfare State: U.S.A.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), p. 68."

12. John B. Parrish, "Is U.S. Really Filled with Poverty?" *U.S. News and World Report*, (September 4, 1967), p. 51. Caplovitz opines that the poor have bought television sets, phonographs, and telephones to embellish their social status, compensating for their low social status by consumption. See Edward Banfield, *The Unheavenly City*, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970), p. 124.

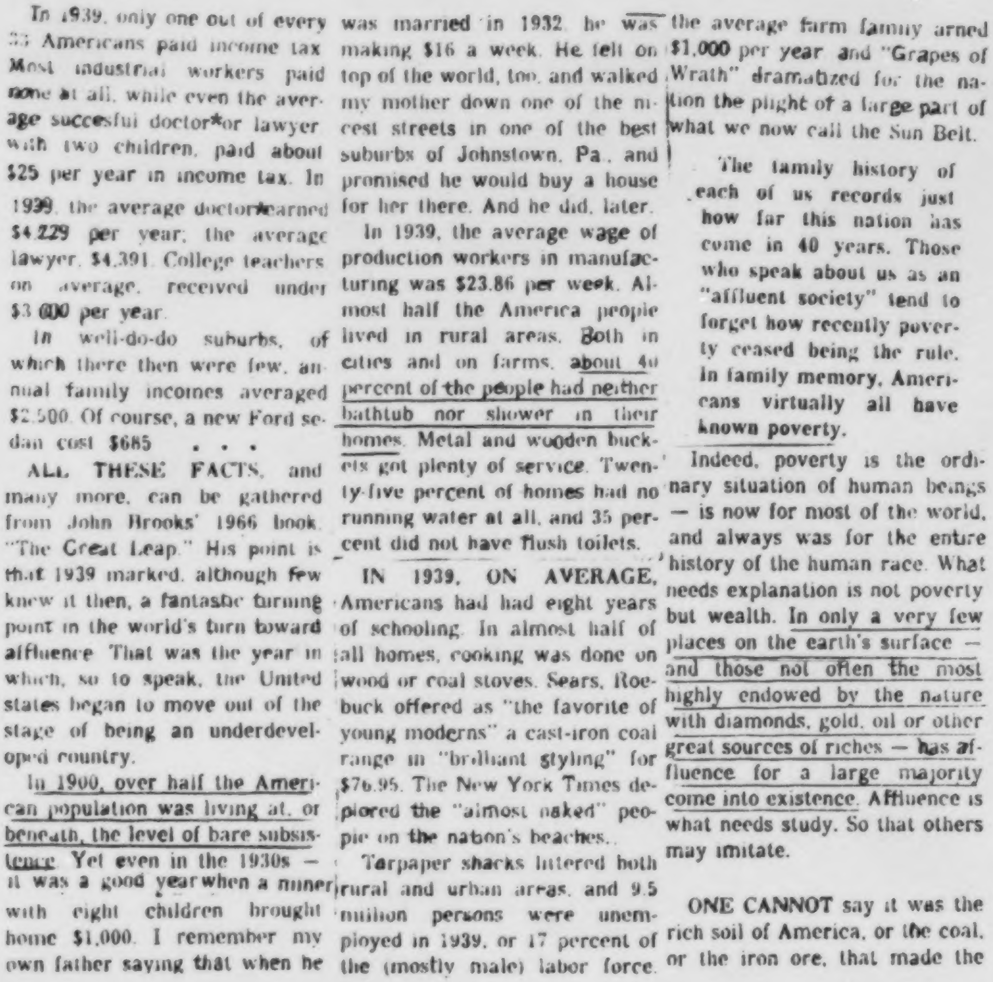
Peter L. Danner, *Review of Social Economy* (April, 1974) noted concerning the "Anguish of Affluence."

> We have been so buffetted by international hatred, so discomfitted by an almost masochistic domestic criticism and so demoralized by fraud and chicanery in government and business that we question the beneficence of the economic system which produced abundance. We are disheartened that affluence has failed in its promises to resolve international strife, to allay domestic discord and to mitigate personal tensions. These tensions, moreover, are heightened by the pollution, the chaos of urban living, the competitive rat-race, the dysfunctioning of institutions, the disproportionate return to cunning and rapacity.
>
> Despite this we will not surrender our affluence. The gut feeling of most of us is that we are better off. Indeed, we are confirmed in our clinging by the very people, who, not having it, hate us most for it. For they emulate us in seeking abundance, and proclaim that their revolutions will achieve material abundance quicker and better. This ambivalence symptomizes the anguish of affluence.

Quoted in *The Louisiana Economy*, XII (November, 1978), p. 6.

13. One only need read accounts of the living conditions of most of Mississippi's population in the 1930s or earlier to recognize that the character of life has been drastically altered for the average family through modern techonology and social organization. At the same time, the difference between standards regarded as minimal for a decent living have been so greatly upped and so widely diffused to most citizens that the relative deprivation of the poor and the accompanying heightened consciousness of these differences among those proportionately fewer who remain disequalized may be more problematic than prior to the general improvements. "The poverty line changes as society becomes more affluent. There are relatively few Americans today who have no place to sleep, no shoes to wear, or who go to bed hungry (in fact, obesity is more common among the poor than among the non-poor)..." R.L. Horton and R.H. Hermonson, Programmed Learning Aid for Social Problems (Homewood: Irwin, 1975), p. 54.

Novak, in this context, has observed that "it is bracing to think back to 1939, to see how far one nation can move in the brief space of 40 years." He observes:



In 1939, only one out of every 33 Americans paid income tax. Most industrial workers paid none at all, while even the average succesful doctor or lawyer with two children, paid about $25 per year in income tax. In 1939, the average doctor earned $4,229 per year; the average lawyer, $4,391. College teachers, on average, received under $3,000 per year.

In well-do-do suburbs, of which there then were few, annual family incomes averaged $2,500. Of course, a new Ford sedan cost $685 . . .

ALL THESE FACTS, and many more, can be gathered from John Brooks' 1966 book, "The Great Leap." His point is that 1939 marked, although few knew it then, a fantastic turning point in the world's turn toward affluence. That was the year in which, so to speak, the United States began to move out of the stage of being an underdeveloped country.

In 1900, over half the American population was living at, or beneath, the level of bare subsistence. Yet even in the 1930s — it was a good year when a miner with eight children brought home $1,000. I remember my own father saying that when he was married in 1932, he was making $16 a week. He felt on top of the world, too, and walked my mother down one of the nicest streets in one of the best suburbs of Johnstown, Pa., and promised he would buy a house for her there. And he did, later.

In 1939, the average wage of production workers in manufacturing was $23.86 per week. Almost half the America people lived in rural areas. Both in cities and on farms, about 40 percent of the people had neither bathtub nor shower in their homes. Metal and wooden buckets got plenty of service. Twenty-five percent of homes had no running water at all, and 35 percent did not have flush toilets.

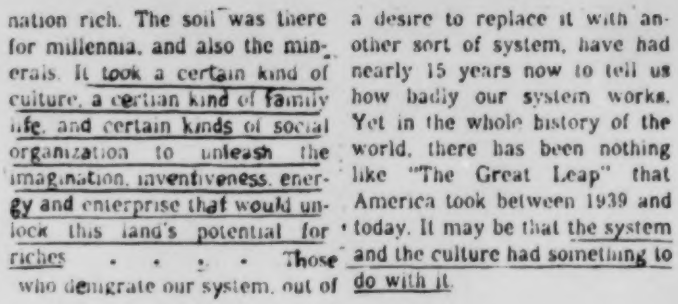
IN 1939, ON AVERAGE, Americans had had eight years of schooling. In almost half of all homes, cooking was done on wood or coal stoves. Sears, Roebuck offered as "the favorite of young moderns" a cast-iron coal range in "brilliant styling" for $76.95. The New York Times deplored the "almost naked" people on the nation's beaches.

Tarpaper shacks littered both rural and urban areas, and 9.5 million persons were unemployed in 1939, or 17 percent of the (mostly male) labor force, the average farm family earned $1,000 per year and "Grapes of Wrath" dramatized for the nation the plight of a large part of what we now call the Sun Belt.

> **The family history of each of us records just how far this nation has come in 40 years. Those who speak about us as an "affluent society" tend to forget how recently poverty ceased being the rule. In family memory, Americans virtually all have known poverty.**

Indeed, poverty is the ordinary situation of human beings — is now for most of the world, and always was for the entire history of the human race. What needs explanation is not poverty but wealth. In only a very few places on the earth's surface — and those not often the most highly endowed by the nature with diamonds, gold, oil or other great sources of riches — has affluence for a large majority come into existence. Affluence is what needs study. So that others may imitate.

ONE CANNOT say it was the rich soil of America, or the coal, or the iron ore, that made the



nation rich. The soil was there for millennia, and also the minerals. It took a certain kind of culture, a certian kind of family life, and certain kinds of social organization to unleash the imagination, inventiveness, energy and enterprise that would unlock this land's potential for riches . . . . . Those who denigrate our system, out of a desire to replace it with another sort of system, have had nearly 15 years now to tell us how badly our system works. Yet in the whole history of the world, there has been nothing like "The Great Leap" that America took between 1939 and today. It may be that the system and the culture had something to do with it.

* Term apprently used to reference physicians (which occupation was given doctoral status, though belatedly in comparison to some of the other learned professions, once there developed a sufficient base of scientific esoteric knowledge in the field of medicine for univerisites to add medicine as a field of doctoral endeavor along with more traditional fields; the red and white barber pole symbolic of barber shops is a holdover from the era in which the vocation of physician and barber was one and the same).

Michael Novak, "Americans Have Taken A 'Great Leap Since 1939," Photographically reproduced from Jackson (Ms.) Clarion - Ledger (January 13, 1979).

Read, commenting on the magic economic wonders which characterize contemporary life, has observed with respect to cultural differences:

> As that French philosopher, Montesquieu, wrote about 200 years ago, "Countries are well cultivated, not as they are fertile, but as they are free." How easy it is to confirm this wisdom. Red Russia, for instance, has climates as friendly, soil as fertile, resources as great as the U.S.A. Our plenitude in goods, services, discoveries, inventions, ideas, insights-creativity-has been and still is so far above theirs that accurate measurements are impossible. Why? One reason only: Russians are as enslaved as any people on earth; we Americans--even now--the freest!

Leonard Read "The Freedom Freeway." "Notes from FEE (January, 1979). Foundation for Economic Education, Inc., Irvington - on - Hudson, New York, 10533.

14. For discussion of life in the American South prior to World War II generally, see Tom E. Terrill and Jerrold Hirsch, Such As Us: Southern Voices of the Thirties (Chapel Hill: University of North

Carolina Press, 1978). For discussion of the levels-of-living of Southern blacks during the 1930s era, see Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (Evanston: Harper & Row, 1962), pp. 364-379. For discussion of the tenancy system and the living conditions of sharecroppers, see James W. Loewen and Charles Sallis, Mississippi: Conflict and Change (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), pp. 202-218. For comparison of levels-of-living of white farm operators in Mississippi in the 1950s with the 1930s, see Dorothy Dickens, Levels of Living of Young White Farm-Operator Families in Mississippi (State College: MAES Bulletin 579, 1959): Occupations of Sons and Daughters of Mississippi: Cotton Farmers (State College: MAES Bulletin 318, 1937); Some Contrasts in Levels of Living of Women Engaged in Farm, Textile Mill and Garment Plant Work (State College: MAES Bulletin 364, 1941). For a comparison of non-whites in 1930s and 1950s, see Dorothy Dickins, Levels of Living of Young Negro Farm-Operator Families in Mississippi (State College: MAES Bulletin 580, 1959). Cf.: R. Bell Farm Organization and Operation of Negro Owner-Operated Farms in Northeast Mississippi (State College: MAES Bulletin 529, 1955); Voyce J. Mack, An Economic Study of Negro Owner-Operated Farms in Jefferson Davis County, Mississippi (State College: MAES Bulletin 523, 1954).

Electricity in every home is taken as a more or less inalienable right of every contemporary American, and practically every rural as well as urban home is electrified. In 1930 ninety percent of the farm houses were without electricity. As late as 1950, some thirty percent of the houses in Mississippi were without electricity. In eight counties less than fifty percent of the houses had electrical service and less than sixty percent were so equipped in an additional thirteen Mississippi counties. Since the wealthy could provide conveniences not available to the masses, electrification, access to communication, improved transportation, water systems, all illustrate a diffusion of technological and economic progress that have especially benefitted the poor and average or working class citizenry. Rose Friedman, Poverty Definition and Perspective (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1965).

15. Herman P. Miller, Rich Man, Poor Man (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971).

16. Robert Coles, Farewell to the South (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1972), p. 102

17. Kenneth Cox, The Paradox of Poverty in America (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1969). P. 64.

18. John Perkins, "The Christian Community: Breaking the Cycle of Poverty" (Voice of Calvary Ministries, n.d.).

19. Coles, op. cit., pp. 101-102. A somewhat contrasting picture, in similar area and status context given in the late fifties, was that "many intangible factors, largely in the form of perquisites, but are difficult to measure" accrued from the social aspect of plantation organization. Those suggested included the giving of "aid to workers' churches...and supplies and equipment for social activities" by plantation operators, willingness of plantation operators to 'stand for' their workers in legal difficulties, and belief that in the Delta they can 'get by' as among "the reasons why many of them stay in the area and the factor that brings imigrants back from industrial areas during recessions."

> The plantation family is provided with a house and the privilege of cutting wood for heating and cooking. Many...make extensive use of fish and game...for little or no cash expense. Some plantation owners pay hospitalization coverage or pay their workers' doctor /physician/ bills.

N. LeRay, George L. Wilber, and G. Crowe, Plantation Organization and the Resident Labor Force, Delta Area, Mississippi (State College: MAES Bulletin 606, 1960). p. 22.

20. Ben A. Orcutt, "Family Treatment of Poverty Level Families, "Social Casework, 58 (February, 1977), pp. 92-100.

21. Edward Banfield, The Unheavenly City Revisited (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), Chapter 7, "Several Kinds of Poverty."

22. Leveson has proposed a so-called "progress sharing" ruse wherein the poverty line would automatically rise when the income of the non-poor rose en banc, but not as rapidly, thereby obtaining an income elasticity between zero (absolute measure) and proportion of the median income (elastivity of one). Irving Leveson, "Updating Poverty Standards and Program Benefits," Growth and Change, 9 (January, 1978), pp. 14-22.

23. See Scheibla, op.cit.

24. Carl H. Madden, "The War Over Poverty," Law and Contemporary Problems, 31 (Winter, 1966), p. 46.

25. Ben Wattenberg and R.M.Scammon, This U.S.A. (New York: Time-Life, 1968), pp. 135-137.

26. Madden, p. 47.

27. The allegedly "false picture of progress for many" has prompted at least one group "that uses the collective bargaining techniques to organize communities so they can represent themselves with federal and local government agencies" to assert that "it intends to pick up the pieces of the fragmented civil rights

movement of the 1960s" on the premise that "the civil rights movement of the '50's and '60's never reached its logical conclusion" because of the alleged illusion caused by the progress of blacks. "New Civil Rights Group Vows Rekindling of Activism," Economic Opportunity Report, 13 (September 18, 1978), p. 8.

The proprietory interest in maintaining an afflatus of disadvantage in terms of public opinion is not restricted to traditionally disadvantaged racial groups or other groups seeking to establish a claim of class or categorical disadvantage as part of the competitive demand for extraction of federal benison. Geographic areas and municipalities have sometimes dramatically illustrated the fear of loss of patronage by decreased levels of disadvantage. "Free Money." National Review, 29 (March 4, 1977), p. 252. The same may be said for industrial activities. Agriculture, for example, is an enterprise wherein various emoulements, privileges, payments, supports, and entitlements have been extended by a public whose willingness or acquiesence to such programs reflects a tolerance which is probably attributable at least in part to a cultivated aura of public opinion of alleged disadvantage. It is this writer's opinion based on some intermittent and unsystematic review of agricultural periodicals that possible uncovering of the relative opulence of agriculture and the affluence of entities with investments in plant and animal husbandry may have given rise to a fear of discovery and public reassessment of its longstanding tolerance of the myriad forms of support of the agriculturally privileged to which it has subjected itself over the last four decades.

28. J. Low-Beer, "Perspectives on Social Inequalities," Yale Law Journal, 81 (June, 1975), p. 1592

29. George Thomas, Poverty in the Nonmetropolitan South: A Causal Analysis (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, 1972), p. 13. Pearce claims "it is women who account for an increasingly large proportion of the economically disadvantaged." Diane Pearce, "The Feminization of Poverty: Women, Work and Welfare," Urban and Social Change Review." (1/2, 1972), p. 28.

30. Harold F. Kaufman, et al., Poverty Programs and Social Mobility (State College: Mississippi State University, Social Science Research Center Preliminary Report No. 13, 1966), p. 1.

31. Leveson, "Updating Poverty Standards," p. 15.

32. Mollie Orshansky, "Counting the Poor; Another Look at the Poverty Profiles," in The Measure of Poverty: A Report to Congress as Mandated by the Education Admendments of 1974 (Washington: DHEW, 1976),p.47.

33. Robert Bendiner and Kenneth Davis (ed.), The Paradox of Poverty in America (New York: H.W. Wilson, 1969), p. 39. The "psychological poor" may be described as those of us who, in Fairlie's description, are well-off by the standards of the rest of the world, but who are "obviously not used to comfort or even convenience, anxious at the cost even of necessities ...forced to scrimp with each dollar as the poor are forced to scrimp with every penny." Henry Fairlie, The Spoiled Child of the Western World (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1976), p. 218.

To the extent that the American normative standard today may be "warm clothing, nourishing meals, a nice home in the suburbs, 7% mortgage money, and a new car every three years" there may have already been a dramatic change in the current and future likelihood of American levels of living. Gary North, "God Will Take Care of Me," Biblical Economics Today, 1 (December - January, 1978-1979) p. 2. For example, can a person with a $15,000 income in an era of escalated taxes and rapidly rising prices for every thing he buys as necessity or comfort afford the $60,000 house at 11% interest which he could have bought a decade earlier on $7,000 annual income at 8% interest. Can the non-governmental non-indexed pensioner (who may be attempting to live on pension earnings rather than transferred taxes confiscated from contemporary production as are government pensioners) whose lifetime of effort would have provided modest retirement comfort in the very recent past exist on a comparably humane scale in double digit inflation -- in an era of $5,000 automobiles, $.40 soft drinks, $.80 cent a gallon gasoline when he can get it, $65 dollar-a-day hospital rooms, and $50 shoes which only a few years ago may have scarcely cost half as much. We may well have now entered an era of declining standards of living for the masses of the population brought about largely if not entirely by the profilgacy of government. The result may be progressive downward adjustment of expectation and reality for average America.

34. Michael Harrington, The Other America, quoted in The Measure of Poverty. Technical Paper III, A Review of the Definition and Measurement of Poverty, Volume 1, Summary Review Paper (Washington: DHEW, 1976), p. 15

35. Lens, Poverty, p. 6.

36. Richard Barringer in Samuel H. Beer and R.E. Barringer, The State and the Poor (Cambridge: Winthrop Publishers, Inc., 1970), p. 307.

37. David Elesh, Poverty Theories and Income Maintenance: Validity and Policy Relevance (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Institute for Research on Poverty, 1970), p.1.

38. The idea that there exists a repository of persons in society who are influential in maintaining poverty because of its utility as a warning to those who do not conduct themselves properly is oversimplification at best. However, this does not mean that certain aspect of society do not profit from poverty. Herbert Gans has pointed out that poverty performs a number of functions for many members of society by providing a job market for social workers, crusading journalists, OEO and HEW personnel, and pencostal ministers; the poor constitute a labor poor that is unable to be unwilling to perform undesirable work; the poor "prolong the economic usefulness" of day-old bread, dilapidated buildings. Herbert Gans, *Time*, (June 21, 1971), p. 64.

39. To the extent the following statement by Smith and Preston is representative implication that poverty is a matter of will which could be remedied by application of sociological voodoo as prescribed by academic messiahs, it is little wonder that a zeitgeist whose tenor is that of the referenced theory in the text may be somewhat respectable orthodoxy. "Only a major redistribution of wealth will eliminate poverty in the United States. But a drastic restructuring of society is not likely in the near future since well-to-do Americans have a vested interest in maintaining the status quo." Ronald W. Smith and Frederick W. Preston, *Sociology: An Introduction* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), p. 156. What historical era in which this "redistribution" of wealth eliminated poverty forms the basis of these assertions, what theoretical model the authors' would emulate, or what form the "restructuring of society" would take, are not specified. Nor is there a statement of exactly who (college textbook writers, wealthy businessmen, interlocking directorates, small merchants and entrepreneurs, or whomever) has the vested interest in exactly what particulars of the status quo.

40. Without question, however, there has been exploitation to keep some persons poor in order to utilize their services. Horton or Leslie observes: "This writer once talked to a women's group about racial discrimination; the women nodded in sympathetic agreement with each remark, but during the tea that followed, many were heard lamenting because black cleaning women were demanding as much money as white workers received! Whatever their professed ideals might be, these women did not wish to surrender their exploitation of blacks." Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie, *The Sociology of Social Problems*, (Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 11. For discussion of the differential advantages and disadvantages of membership in castes or classes in Mississippi based on an early classic study of a Mississippi community, see the chapter "The Economic Gain",in John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern* Town (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1949; reprint of orignal publication by Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 96-133.

41. Such cliche explanations are applicable only for limited exceptions or they are otherwise so broad as to be meaningless as a theoretical explanation of the cause of poverty. For example, one may argue that professional athletes receive yearly salaries exceeding the lifetime income of members of the working hoipolloi partially because they corral gigantic incomes which provides advantages of tax avoidance while they pursue careers in stadiums built by the public. As a minimum, equity would suggest that the benefactors of the public stadiums would have to pay for them out of their salaries. In reality (Philip Stern, The Rape of the Taxpayer, 1973) the tax structure is such that the successful bare less of a tax burden than do the less favored members of society. Or, witness the existence of athletic palaces on university campuses in contrast to conditions at, say, a State mental hospital, or contrast the inadequate or user-costly health facilities with the luxurious quarters of athletic dormitories in which occupants are paid to reside. Whether this may be regarded as exploitation is perhaps debatable, but it can hardly be argued that poverty in general is caused by athleticism.

42. It is recognized that the explanations categorized here as "folklore theories" may be more characteristic of academicians than of the hoipolloi; however, they are styled as such because they belong more to the arena of mythology than to fact. On the other hand, this designation is suggestive that the folk wisdom of a people may reflect more accurate assessment of the realities of the social bond (which may be dismissed by a social scientists as mere "common sense") than the explanations provided by social scientists. One calls to mind, for example, the common sense versus the social science prognostication of the result of the high rise apartment building as a cure for delinquency and anti-social behavior. Will, claiming that "one clear result of the extensive activism of our expanded government is a lower living standard for the poor," has observed that attempted benevolence by the welfare state has resulted in such developments as regulation of trucking so as to keep freight rates high and regulation of air travel so as to increase ticket prices and restrict self-payment mobility. He feels that "state monopoly of the postal service has helped make the penny postcard what it is today," while "federal housing projects have resulted in an increase in slums and a decrease in the number of housing units available to the poor. George F. Will, "Welfare State - An Incompetent Leviathan," Alternative (October, 1971), p. 6.

43. Medical costs have risen in recent years significantly faster than the general rate of inflation, so that many illnesses (including some that were previously untreatable) now threaten bankruptcy, even for persons covered by private insurance or government programs. Clark Havighurst, et al., "Strategies in Underwriting the Costs of Catastrophic Disease," Law and Contemporary Problems XL (Autumn, 1976), p. 122.

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44. Charles H. Percy, *Growing Old in the Country of the* Young (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), pp. 65-99. "In this nation, in this year, there is no way for millions of men and women to finish their lives with a measure of dignified comfort." *Ibid*., p. 31. Cf.: Ashley Weeks,"The Pathology of Poverty," pp. 8-21, and Agnes Brewster, "Medicaid and Medicare Limitations," pp. 168-180, in *Medicine in a Changing Society* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby, 1972), pp. 168-180.

Eventually, despite the capacity for independence of any individual aged, if a person survives long enough, and unless his/her death is free of debilitating complications, he/ she is likely to become dependent on others. Medical and/or custodial care may become highly problematic. The following is illustrative:

> One day, after lunch at a friend's apartment, I waited in his lobby while he collected his mail. Out of the elevator came two nurses, one on either side of a wizened, staring woman who couldn't have weighed more than seventy pounds. It was all the woman could do to make her way down the three steps to the sidewalk and the curb where a car was waiting. The steps must have been to that woman what a steep mountain trail wold be to me; the nurses guided her down them with infinite patience.
>
> "Easy, darlin'," one nurse said to the woman.
>
> "That's a good girl," said the other. The woman, my friend's doorman told us, was ninety. That morning she had fallen and hurt herself. On her forehead was something which, had it not been a bruise, we might have thought beautiful: a marvel of mauve and lavender and magenta. This woman, who was being taken to a nursing home, had lived in my friend's apartment building forty years. Her relatives all were dead, and her few surviving friends no longer chose to see her.
>
> "But how can that be?" I asked my friend. "We could never be that alone, could we?"
>
> "Don't be so sure," said my friend, who knows more of such matters than I do. "Even if we were to end up in the same nursing home, if I was in markedly worse shape than you were, you might not want to see me, either."
>
> "But I can't imagine not wanting to see you."
>
> "It happens," my friend said.

"Families," *Sky* (December, 1978), p. 31. Old age, Professor Butler has written, is neither inherently miserable nor inherently sublime. For some "there is a 'good' old age with satisfying final years and dignified death...For many elderly Americans old age is a tragedy, a period of quiet despair, deprivation, destolation, and muted outrage."

> ...There are also inevitable personal and physical losses to be sustained, some of which can become overwhelming and unbearable...old age is frequently a tragedy when the early years have been fulfilling...Herein lies what I consider the general tragedy of old age in America--we have shaped a society which is extremely harsh to live in when old.

R. N. Butler, *Why Survive: Being Old in America* (Evanston: Harper and Row, 1975), p. 5. Illustrative is Professor Butler's chapter, "Houses of Death as a Lively Business," on the nursing home racket.

Illustrative of making it via goverment are structures providing unreasonable profits to entrepreneurs who successfully navigate the political process sufficiently to engage in the nursing home enterprise. When government becomes involved in the business of socialism for free-enterprise rhetoriticians to aid the underprivileged through government guaranteed rent subsidies, nursing home subsidies, "Title XX" contracting for welfare services, child development schemes, etc., allocated through the polictical process, an aura is created for great profiteering with public money. It is interesting to note the extent to which politicians, relatives, and persons adept at making it through receipt of political or "public service" benison as free-enterprising entrepreneurs with public money are involved in HUD projects, operation of apartments wherein rents are guaranteed by taxes, and operation of medicaid payment nursing homes. With money so apportioned, cases of outright graft, quasi-graft, buddy politics, self-serving political decisioning, "finder's fees," etc. may be expected to increase if for no other reason than they create opportunities to be exploited by those positioned to do so. It is somewhat understandable, perhaps, given the temptingly high stakes involved, and the feeling that much of the legal expenditure in programmatic operation may be felt to be in the nature of gardyloo activities, temptation to exploit opportunities by extra-legal methods may be strong. The suggestion is made here that actions which are an immoral use of politics by legal entitlement are likely by their nature to create opportunity, climate, and enticement for acquisition by means which, if detected and successfully prosecuted, imprecate a felony. Sennholz has stated,

> Government affects individual incomes by virtually every decision it makes. Agricultural programs, veterans' benefits, health and labor and welfare expenditures, housing and community development, federal expenditures on education, social insurance, medicare and medicaid programs, and last but not least, numerous regulations and controls affect the economic conditions of every citizen. In fact, modern government has become a universal transfer agency that utilizes the political process for distributing vast measures of economic income and wealth. It preys on millions of victims in order to allocate valuable goods and services to its beneficiaries. With the latter, transfer programs are so popular that few public officials and politicians dare oppose them.

Hans Sennholz, "You Cannot Get Even," Biblical Economics Today (Publication of Institute for Christian Economics, 713 W. Cornwallis Rd., Durham, N.C. 27707), 1 (June/July, 1978), p. 3.

Sennholz states that the desire to "get even" in the transfer struggle in the redistributive society is a powerful pacifier of conscience. While it may be that few "public officials and politicians dare oppose" the political transfer order, it is not without opportunities for the establishment of systemic functional ties by entrepreneurs able to utilitize political (including its public particiatory and bureaucratic administrative negotiation accoutrements) channels and provide a service (as builder, developer, contractor, program operator) needed by government "acting as the political agency for coercive transfer."

Moss and Halamand, in their *Too Old, Too Sick, Too Bad,* note that the "phenomenon of large numbers of ill elderly is a comparatively recent development in the United States, as is the institution which has grown to meet the need. The solution (nursing homes) to this perplexing problem is typically American: turn it over to free enterprise." *The "free enterprise" in question however appears to be the "free enterprise" wherein government bears the cost of profiteering enjoyed by private entrepreneurs*. The dramatic influx of new capital into the nursing home industry with the advent of Medicare and Medicaid suggests the economics of the industry. 1971 Senate hearings documented something of the "profiteering in services the needy by the greedy" by an industry that collects extraordinary profits while claiming government emoluments on its behalf are inadequate. Illustrative was one operation which claimed a paper tax loss when in real cash terms (not to mention other estovers which might not appear in the books) the owners collected a profit of over $200,000 out of total revenues of $400,000. The owner spent $.58 per day per patient for food, less than spent for inmates in Chicago jails.

Sen. Percy questioned another nursing home operator of whom 90% of his constituents were welfare recipients.

> So the equity, and I ask you now...because I do not want to make an unfair analysis here; considering the exposure, is $40,000, that if everything went wrong and the mortgages, all of them could take the building over, but there is no loss beyond that; so that the investment as to equity is $40,000 and if in this 1 year $50,000 was earned, after all expense had been paid, so that the return on investment, that is equity risk, is something over 100 percent ...So you get the $31,000 cash flow and you put that against the mortgage and so the income from the government for these patients is paying for the building simultaneously along with paying a $50,000 profit plus $13,000 or $14,000 in salaries.

Ibid., p. 75. The owner's response: "...in any business there has to be a profit." *Ibid*.

> "The mere fact that a corporation indicates losses on its tax return does not necessarily mean that no profit is being made. The subpoened records disclosed...the operating corporation paid the partnership owning the facility a rent of $72,000 on this $100,000 building! In other words, the officers of entity number one paid themselves, as entity number two, $72,000 in rent. The rent, of course, is listed on the IRS return as a business expense. The effect is not only that the corporation paid no tax for the year in question, but it also had a loss carry-forward with which to offset the income earned in succeeding years."

Frank E. Moss and V.J. Halamand, Too Old Too Sick Too Bad: Nursing Homes In America (Germantown, Md.: Aspen Systems Corporation, 1977), p. 77.

Organized as a corporation on top and a partnership (one of whom was a medical practitioner) that owned the land, the corporation itself showed over $50,000 net profits, plus paying its owner officers $73,000 in salary as officers of the corporation, which paid a monthly rent to the partnership (owned by the same persons) of $60,000 a year. The owners claimed "...in any business there has to be a profit." Quite so, but it does not have to be over 100% of risk per year. Nor one might add, does it have to be at public expense.

The advent of Medicaid and Medicare, Mendelson claims, was a clear signal to those seeking a fast way to make money. As she points out, "the nursing home industry, though privately owned, is a government industry...By 1971 two-thirds of the people in nursing homes were supported by the government, and more than three-quarters of the $3.5 billion of nursing homes was public money" (p.36).

It seems clear that the incentive for the post-1965 nursing home expansion has been the appetite and opportunity for extraordinary profit at public expense through Medicare and Medicaid. One of the great social myths of the age is that socialism (i.e., statism, or political liberalism) is a system whereby worker exploitation is reduced and equality is promoted. Socialism is not a system whereby exploitative extraction of the product of workers by nonproductive owners of capital, investors, and speculators is reduced. It is a system whereby business is able to utilize the state to direct public policy in the interest of business, to reduce competition, and to overcome the leavening of opportunity and competition inherent in actual free-enterprise.

It is sometimes uncritically assumed, to some extent because of the tenor toward which teaching in higher education has been directed, that entities and persons who aggregate hugh quantities of capital are thereby opposed to "public interest" legislation (i.e. efforts of the public to make the economic system work in its behalf rather than on behalf of business) and are therefore politically "conservative" (which may be described in any number of terms, from fascist, reactionary, right-wing, anti-communist, non-progressive, or anti-hunger forces" to the distinction made by an announcer on a national television network at the time of the last presidential election who described the vice-presidential candidate of one party as a "conservative" whereas, by contrast, the candidate on the opposing ticket was a statesman who believed that "government should care and can help"). This mythologizing of the nature of systemic economic relationships betwen liberal politics/government and business has confused perception of *who* is using government in its own interest. One result is that many persons, mesmerized by the superstition of government, and believing themselves to be in adversary relationship to "the system" have been promotive and carrier agents of the ethic to which they were ostensibly opposed.

Something of the manner in which entrepreneurs (often politician-businessmen) have been able to make it as free entreprisers off government through governmental payment medical plans for the poor with profit-making non-profit medical programs in California which, according to the author, "shows graphically how the bright promise (sie) of national policy can be destroyed by the people who actually administer it in the intrigue and statehouses of America," is discussed in Bill and Nancy Boyarsky, *Backroom Politics: How Your Local Politicans Work, Why Your Government Doesn't, And What You Can Do About It* (Los Angeles: J. P. Tarcher, 1974), Chapter 6, "Rx from the Legislature," pp. 126-151.

One thing which is very clear is that there are big bucks in government. To the Bogarsky's the excessive profiteering by medical service entrepreneurs, poor quality care, insufficient monitoring by the state, the legislative manipulation arranged by "liberal to moderate legislators pursuing a quick profit" (p. 142), the elaborate network of holding companies and subsidiaries to provide profit through social service brokerage and provisioning by "non-profit" corporations (pp. 136-137), illustrates how "legislative manipulation -- motivated by greed and ambition -- can ruin a program" (p. 150). In other words, since the "bright hope" of "government-funded medical aid which had been intented to raise -- not lower -- the quality of care given the poor" (p. 129) was shown to be a disaster for the poor and a supply line to the public treasury for entrepreneurs, it *must* be something wrong with individual will, i.e., "because those who set up the program cared too little about the health care handed out to the needy." (p. 151).

What could have been a "model for alternative medical care for millions" (p.151) was subverted by "forces [which] are an internal part of the legislature itself [...what about the Democratic legislators, men who were publically dedicated to expanding social programs for the poor? "Had the public been aware of the depths of political intrique working against reform of the new Medi-cal program, it would have shocked them, p. 142_7-- office-holders' own ambition and, in some cases, their desire to profit from their outside business interest" (p. 128).

Perhaps something else is illustrated which goes to the *nature of the process itself*, namely, not that the program was sidetracked, but *that it was wrong in concept and direction*. Perhaps whatever the program, if it is a program of state apportioned privilege, even if it is a pre-paid medical care program, it will accrue to the benefit of provisioners and those who can manipulate government complexity and benison in their interest. It may be that this is precisely why the welfare state has so many supporters, irrespective of liberal-conservative rhetoric. Physicians and others with skills for social service brokerage will find socialized medicine to be a gold rush enterprise.

One of the problems inherent in government contracting for services (such as nursing home care, medical care, donut delivery, etc.) was expressed by a legislative assistant evaluating the Medi-Cal program who said "its major flaw was that the state was contracting 'with groups whose primary object is to make money off the prepaid contract and whose secondary objective is to provide care under a system whereby your're paid so much per recipient'" (p. 135), two conflicting objectives. E.g., whereas physician groups generally have ridiciuled charges of private physician overtreating as a profit extraction device, the state contracting plans made it profitable to undertreat, and were defended by some physicians as desirable preventive of overtreating for profit! Perhaps the error illustrated is that of government *contracting* for social services rather than government *operation* and elimination of "free enterprising" activities with government funds. A second goes to the issue of mesmerization with government. The Boyarsky's observe that "In their rush to launch a program they hoped would reduce the cost of medical aid to the poor, state officials have imposed few controls...the results can be disastrous for members... too few doctors /by which the Boyarsky's mean physicians, not doctors7 ...and a frightening lack of emergency care." *Ibid*. Of course, that's government. It is a major understatement that "there is no guarantee that federally subsidized health organizations will be better than California's" (p. 129). Quite true, because that's government contracting with entrepreneurs instead of either running things itself or refraining from entry into the arena.

Perhaps what government needs to do most should be placed in a cease and desist context and in the direction of cessation of limitations on and harassment of private and decentralized problem solving. See Donald J. Devine, *Does Freedom Work? Liberty and Justice in America* (Ottawa, Ill.: Green Hill Publishers, 1978).

45. Robert G. Moss, *The Collapse of Democracy* (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1976), pp. 77-96; Hans Sennholz, "The Causes of Inflation,"

Journal of Christian Reconstruction, 2 (Summer, 1975), pp. 33-44; Henry Hazlitt, *Man vs. The Welfare State* (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1969).

46. It may be that for drug addicts and alcoholics that the only state obligation is custodial to prevent menace, and whatever "rehabilitation" apt should be privately financed in privately operated homes. For physical injury of a paraplegic nature, however, *no amount of government support is too large to be extended.* Any aids possible should be made available, without cost, and with whatever services that can be utilized by the recipient, completely at government expense. If any concept of "entitlement" is ever applicable anywhere at anytime, it would seem applicable to persons under physical handicap. The kind of situation described in the Community Services Administration magazine, *Opportunity II* (Vol. 1, No. 2, Fall, 1978, pp. 2-3), wherein a person needing physical rehabilitation becomes dependent on gifts and solicitations to finance a rehabilitative program, should *never* exist. That farmers should be paid subsidies for crops or veterans for attending school or high schoolers for signing up for military recreation in student organizations which pay them for participation would appear morally unjustifiable, if not on the facts themselves, in comparison to the apparent penury toward persons who need aid because of physical injuries.

A recent hearing chaired by Sen. Kennedy contrasted the U.S. system of medical care financing with that of Canada. Testimony was given of American citizens who were literally *harassed into bankruptcy by medical bills*. Constrasting testimony was given by Canadian citizens, for whom medical necessity would have bankrupted Americans of reasonable means, who received services at a cost of $1.00. The need for reasonably priced medical care and total care when drastic medical bills may be encountered for actual illness (as opposed to people who may malinger, or for whom families find it convenient to dump private responsibilities into veteran's hospitals) requiring treatment should be made available, and this even if it means government hiring of medical servants on the same basis as it hires Cooperative Extension, Home Demonstration, or Soil Conservation servants at the county level. *To accomplish this might require a redirection of educational resources toward medical education for all those wishing, willing, and capable of learning such medical knowledge as would improve the opportunity for care for all those receiving less care than they would otherwise, regardless of the extent to which this might undermine the excessive incomes of persons currently in the medical vocations*.

The following are excerpted from E.M. Kennedy, *In Critical Condition: The Crisis In America's Health Care* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972),

> Many Americans who can and do pay their health care bills do not get adequate health care. One reason they do not is that their

concern over what it will cost discourages them from going to the doctor /physician/ They can pay their bills, but, because the bills are so high, they want as few as possible. So they stay home or wait until they know it is serious (p. 75).

...when the bills come most Americans are surprised by how much their insurance does not cover. They find there are ceilings on total payments, as well as "deductibles," "copayments," "coinsurance," or "exclusions" ...they find that the portion of the bill that they must pay is enormous--large enough to bankrupt many families, force them on welfare, or mortgage their future regardless of their income...millions of Americans who are elderly, who are disabled, or who have part-time, seasonal, or low-paying jobs face financial ruin from bills...medical expenses are frequent causes of bankruptcy among such Americans. In many states, Medicaid is of little help. (p. 26).

Health care in America is very, very expensive. If an American has a serious accident, heart disease, cancer, complications in childbirth, kidney disease, or any of a long list of other health problems, he may be faced with financial ruin regardless of his income.

Families which are torn by illness have been forced to sell their homes, to sacrifice in a few weeks savings accumulated over years of hard work, to move in with relatives, and to live in near poverty--all to pay the costs of their tragic illness or accident. Most families struggle to pay, to honor their debts, and to adjust their style of life to live on what is left. For some families, this has meant going on welfare.

Other families, faced with the utter hopelessness of paying their health care debts from their salaries, have been forced to declare bankruptcy. They have seen theirs cars repossessed, their appliances taken--even their stoves and refrigerators. Once bankrupt, they are forced to pay in advance for everything, including health care, because they have no credit. (p. 25).

Kennedy's Chapter "Businessmen or Healers" discusses such features of the health care rackets as "A Seller's Market," "The People Have No Say," "Lack of Competition on Quality," "Monopolistic Practices," and "Health Care Providers as Entrepreneurs." Sen. Kennedy's book reports incidents of "deeply personal and human tragedies" such as unsuccessful efforts to get physicians in a hospital emergency room to take a stroke seriously, harassment by collection agencies, persons turned away from emergency rooms because of inability to pay a $50 or $75 deposit, "people's agony in trying to get a doctor / which term is erroneously used, though it is apparent that Kennedy has reference to physicians/ to look at a suffering member of their family," and numerous stories which illustrate the business and entrepreneurial aspect of the health care racket.

Suggested directions for improving delivery and access:

1) Access and entry. The lucrative and highly privileged nature of medical practice makes it a field of fiercely competitive entry. This has nothing to do with "quality." The same monopoly which fosters the professional birth control which limits entry is also used, according to Sen. Kennedy, to prevent a patient from knowing "the quality of physician care he is getting" (Sen. Kennedy noted that "In all our hearings, it is difficult to get physicians even to state publicly that some physicians are more qualified than others").

There is a danger, of course that increased entry could lead to unnecessary medical services simply to increase provider income. Furthermore, any reduction of provider income because of a larger number of providers would probably result in increased pressure for greater socialization of medicine in the interest of providers. Pressure on government to provide employment and emoluments is likely to arise from any applicable profession or vocation in which the market is not able to absorb the number of practitioners available at the renumeration practitioners would like to receive.

However, the intelligence, judgement, and accumen necessary to be an average physician is not greater than in many other occupations (excepting, of course, such occupations as, say, education, or educational administration, which some feel function as repository areas for persons of less native ability and intelligence, and whose training and graduate certification are adjusted thereto). Any person competent to acquire a doctorate in physiology, chemistry, kinesiology, pharmacology, bacteriology, or anatomy, is intellectually competent to acquire a doctorate in medicine. Therefore, those who may wish to do so should be enabled to do so in the sense of obtaining admission to such training, or to taking such post-doctoral courses as might enable them to obtain medical licensure. If an educational system turns out bushels of doctors in "education" while many applicants to medical school may be turned away although of essentially equal qualifications to those selected, a reassessment of the state's allocation of educational expenditures may be in order. In order to promote a reasonable area distribution of any increased number of medical practitioners, as oppossed to individual practitioner benefit, location in medically deficient areas or salaried service in pre-paid health maintenance organizations (but not necessarily publically funded "not for profit" community type organizations) might be conditional requirements for pay-back educational loans.

David Friedman contends that the American Medical Association is one of the more notorious exploiters of licensing to keep member income unreasonably high of any of the craft unions, and they do so to "keep down the number of physicians for exactly the same reason...plumbers...keep down the number of plumbers."

> Physicians justify restricting the number of physicians, to others and doubtless to themselves as well, on the grounds of keeping up quality. Even if that were really what they were doing, the argument involves a fundamental error. Refusing to license the less qualified 50 percent of physicians may raise the average quality of physicians, but it lowers the average quality of medical care. It does not mean that everyone gets better medical care, but that half the people get no care or that everyone gets half as much.

David Friedman, Machinery of Freedom, p. 57. Friedman has pointed out that the AMA relies mainly on medical schools to accomplish professional birth control. The question of the effect of abolition of physician licensing on medical care quality is discussed in Milton Friedman's Capitalism and Freedom.

The armed services have not found it necessary to employ physicians in all medically critical activities, but have utilized "medics" in combat conditions. Many medically pertinent activities within the area of general or nonoperative medical practice in diagnostic and prescriptive medicine might be performed by medical personnel who may not have the particular type of training of current practitioners. New degrees, as, say, a Master of Medicine might be in order to qualify persons for diagnostic and prescripttive medicine. There would seem to be little need for patients to wait hours in a physician's office to obtain routine prescriptions or diagnostic services.

There is already a notable use of midlevel professionals who are "neither full-fledged doctors /sic/ nor nurses but somewhere in between" in emergency medicine. Also, "in many ways, these newcomers to medicine are taking the place of the general practioners of decades past" by setting up "family-practice clinics in isolated areas where there is a shortage of doctors /sic/." There is a likelihood that by the early 1980's, "When there may be a surplus of doctors /sic/ instead of a shortage," physicians may increase opposition to these practitioners "on the grounds they are invading doctor's /physician's/ traditional domain." "As 'Medics' Take Over Duties Of Doctors / Physicians/," "Recent News of Interest...." Ms. R&D Center Issue No. 127 (October 19, 1978).

The important question, of course, is not what is in the interest of those persons who have been permitted to become physicians, but what is in the interest of a) consumers seeking medical care b) persons who may wish to become medical practitioners, and c) the need for competition among providers and d) lower prices and greater availability to consumers. Mississippi might do well to provide access to practice for medical personnel apart from physician control, and to provide mechanisms for their training and preparation.

2) Increased consumer control. Medical practice, and judgement of the adequacy of medical service, is too important to be vested entirely in the determination of providers. Methods for increasing consumer hegemony and control would seem desirable.

3) Accountability of providers to patients. Currently, those harmed by iatrogenic medicine have little recourse unless they can overcome the hurdles of judicial process and obtain damages for negligence. Even when a phsyician is technically held responsible for malpractice, malpractice insurance may allow avoidance of personal liability. It may be desirable to increase the legal rights of patients and the performance of physicians as matters of law without approaching an unrealistic guaranty or warranty standard. Legislative or judicial modification of the locality rule, accepted practice in the profession, and requisites of practitioner testimony might be replaced with more appropriate standards as matters of law.

4) Wholistic approach to medical care. That contemporary medical care is crisis oriented rather than prevention oriented is well recognized. Distribution of costs so as to maximize preventive care would seem desirable.

Decreased reliance on physicians for more routine care might be desirable. Increased self medication would also seem to be in order and in keeping with traditions of consumer sovereignty.

Locally, barriers to use of health foods, such as laetrile, should be removed. Provision might be made for generic prescription of drugs. It might be wise to vastly enlarge the contigent of drugs available without prescription. Increased legal tolerance for alternatives to contemporary medicine, such as homeopathic physicians, might be desirable as a contrast to the monopoly of traditional medicine and the limitations (such as inadequate nutritional knowledge) of physicians.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the arena of health services has been captured by if not defaulted to physicians. The medical mystique is so pervasive that medical practitioners have largely been accepted as experts qua physician in areas wherein physician status itself is not validly indicative of expertise, and the viewpoint of a physician qua physician is not any more knowledgeable, apt, or expert than that of a washing machine salesman qua salesman. This is particularly true with respect to what Thomas Szasz has described as "problems in living" (behavior which gets one categorized as "mentally ill" even though there is no discernible organic, physiological, anatomic, or nuerological cause so as to appropriately bring its diagnosis and/or treatment within the medical model) or marital or domestic problems.

To whatever extent behavioral problems are organic, they would be appropriately circumscribed as medical. The pervasiveness of the medical mystique has probably been a factor in public acquiescence to medical professions sequestion of health care provision and possibly an unhealthy monopoly of the health care field.

5) *Provision for catastrophic illness*. Insurance notwithstanding, catastrophic illness can decimate the finances of a family of reasonable means. It may be that the entire cost of certain illnesses, and regular preventive diagnosis, should be assumed by the state. Also, there should be stringent, automatic, and reliable pre and post-natal screening. How government assumption of the costs of catastrophic organic illness can be assumed without creating additional estovers primarily to the benefit of medical providers is problematic. It may be that a major danger in the desirable effort to prevent illness from decimating families of only reasonable financial status is to prevent medical practitioners from manipulating the need into unnecessarily wasteful and unreasonably lucrative channels as appears to have been the result of Medicare and Medicaid.

It has been suggested that "if you like the post office, you'll love socialized medicine." It is certainly problematic whether a government which charges $.15 for a three cent stamp can bring anything but public disaster and chaos to the medical arena, and open the door to waste and fraud as it apparently has in Medicare and Medicaid. As Mendelson observes, while the American Medical Association and the American Hospital Association - lobbied against "anything that threatened their right to decide which patients needed what treatment and how much that treatment was worth" as "socialized" medicine (*Tender Loving Greed*, p. 7). "the members of those two organizations later turned out to be the chief beneficiaries of the new programs." *Ibid*. One shudder's to think of the ultimate effect of medical provider realization, given their prepensity for turning need into provider income, once they recognize the potential of establishing a pipeline to public funds via socialized medicine. Friedman illustrates the process in general:

47.

> The most notorious example is probably the licensing of skilled workers in the construction trades, such as plumbers and elec-

> tricians. Licensing is under effective control of the respective craft unions, who use it to keep down the number of workers and to drive up their salaries, sometimes to fantastic levels. There are places where union plumbers make $20,000 a year. In order to maintain such salaries, the unions must keep down the number of workers licensed and must use local laws to keep out unlicensed workers. Recently this has led to conflict between blacks, who want to get into the building trades, and the unions, who want to exclude them and everyone else, except friends and relations of the present union members. Craft unions also take advantage of building codes, using them to prohibit the adoption of technological advances which might threaten their jobs. Innovation in low-cost construction methods thus is effectively banned from the big cities, where it is most needed

David Friedman, Machinery of Freedom, p. 56.

Government "help" is also a major hurdle. For example, because "the minimum wage law makes it uneconomical to meet marginal economic needs with people; these needs are filled by machines ...Automation fills the vacuum created by the passage of minimum wage laws and other increasing labor costs. Automatic elevators that replaced elevator operators because of their increasing wage demands are a good example of this." Irwin Schiff, The Biggest Con (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1976), pp. 164-192.

Williams contends that "the bulk of the problems that today's disadvantaged minorities face are government restraints on the operation of the market that prevent blacks and Hispanics from having an opportunity to advance as have disadvantaged minorities in the past." The minimum wage law, in particular, is said to have had a particularly vicious effect on minority youth. Williams is of the conviction that

> Blacks do not need special treatment and programs, such as Affirmative Action and quotas ; those programs mainly benefit the most advantaged blacks and those whites who, while not included in them, do earn salaries for administering them.
>
> What blacks need is the opportunity to compete in a free market. To provide for this opportunity there have to be changes in laws that restrict voluntary

> exchange in order to promote the interests of various narrow lobby groups. I would guess that if we abolished the minimum wage, reduced licensing restrictions, changed labor legislation and reorganized the delivery of education, in twenty to thirty years there would be no "black problem" as there is no Japanese, Chinese Jewish or other earlier immigrant problem. An added benefit is that such an alternative "program" to promote equality of opportunity would (a) cost little in tax dollars and (b) be successful.

Walter E. Williams, "Government Sanctioned Restraints That Reduce Economic Opportunities for Minorities," Notes From Policy Review (Fall, 1978), p. 1.

48. A. Dale Tussig, "The Dual Welfare System," Society, II (January-February, 1974), pp. 50-57; "American Ideology and Anti-poverty Policy," Intellect, 103 (January, 1975).

49. Oscar Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," Scientific American, 215 (October, 1963), pp. 19-25.

50. C. Valentine, Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter Proposals (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); Karen Dugger, "Against the Use of the Concept 'Culture of Poverty' As An Ideology" (Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Kent State Univ., n.d.), mimeo.

51. Daniel P. Moynihan, The Negro Family: The Case for National Action (Washington: U. S. Department of Labor, 1965), Allison Davis, "The Motivation of the Under Privileged Worker," in W.F. Whyte (ed.), Industry and Society (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946), pp. 84-106.

52. Dugger, op.cit.

53. Horton and Leslie, p. 366.

54. Valentine, Culture and Poverty, 157.

55. Gabriel Kolko, Railroads and Regulation, 1877-1916 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965). Cf: Anthony Sutton, Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1974).

56. Fred Block, "Beyond Corporate Liberalism," Social Problems, 24 (February, 1977), p. 353. Cf.: Michael Parenti, Democracy for the Few (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1974); Walter Karp, Indispensable Enemies: The Polictics of Misrule in America (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1974); R. A. Liston, Who Really Runs America? (New York: Doubleday, 1974).

57. Block claims this point was symbolized for many by the role that Hubert Humphrey played at the Democratic Party Convention in 1964 when he insisted that the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party accept a compromise with the representatives of Southern racism." Ibid., p. 354

58. Ibid., p. 354.

59. Herbert Gans, "The Negro Family: Reflections on the Moynihan Report," in L. Rainwater and W.L. Yancey (eds.), The Moynihan Report and the Politics of Controversy (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1967). This view also gives rise to the notion that efforts to change lower-class culture by educational and therapeutic techniques may have detrimental effects on the poor. S. Parker and R.J. Kleiner, "The Culture of Poverty: An Adjustive Dimension," American Anthropologist, 72 (June, 1970), pp. 516-527.

60. Thus, from this perspective, it is the situation or structure which is causative, and the individual adaptation, cultural trait, or pathology, is symptomatic. Studies of unemployment, for example, have suggested that "even stable middle or working class persons are likely to begin to show lower class adaptive techniques under the stress of long term unemployment." Lee Rainwater, "The Lessons of Pruitt-Igoe," in C.H. Anderson (ed.), Sociological Essays and Research (Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1974).

61. H. and J. Schwendinger, "Marginal Youth and Social Policy," Social Problems, 24 (December, 1976).

62. Consumption, while related to welfare, does not of itself relfect the full dimensions of welfare. One who consumes very little may be more well off in terms of both comfort and satisfaction than one who spends more. It often costs to be poor. A ready example is the higher heating cost because of inadequately insulated dwellings. It sometimes requires wealth to be in position to consume less.

For example, to acquire small scale or energy saving technology or more self-sufficient food and energy consumption patterns requires land and capital. Some can consume less in some forms because they can afford less (not because they cannot afford more). Physical or capital wealth is obviously related to welfare since it measures control over economic resources; nevertheless, since current capital assets do not necessarily reflect current or potential income coralling ability, it does not provide an entirely true picture of welfare in that it fails to include assets of human capital such as chronological futurity, sex appeal, education, health, intelligence or the lack of intelligence (which may itself be an advantageous asset) for which economic rent may be obtained. Even income, which is possibly the best proxy for welfare because of its reflection of one's asset position and ability to control economic resources, is not a perfect proxy for welfare. The person who purchased a house ten years ago at $16,000 may be in considerably better position than a person with comparatively greater current income who needs to purchase a serviceably equivalent house today. Elderly couples who own their own house may be considerably better off than their income levels would indicate, as are medical students and military careerists. On balance, income is probably the best proxy for welfare; but, it is not an entirely accurate and satisfactory one. John F. Due and Anne F. Friedlaender. *Government Finance: Economics of the Public Sector* (Homewood, ILL.: Irwin, Inc., 1977), pp. 106-107.

63. Christian Bay, "The Triple Insult of Poverty: Notes Toward a Study of Liberal Society, "*Sociological Inquiry*, 46 (1976), pp. 223-234.

64. Stephen D. Hogan, "Poverty in the Mid-South," *Mid-South Quarterly Business Review*, 16 (April, 1978), pp. 6-8.

65. Due and Friedlaender, p. 107.

66. Janet Murray, "Potential Income From Assets: Findings of the 1963 Survey of the Aged," *Social Security Bulletin* (December, 1964); Mollie Orshansky, "Who's Who Among the Poor: A Demographic View," *Social Security Bulletin* (July, 1965).

67. Mollie Orshansky, "Recounting the Poor," p. 85.

68. For a listing of limitations of policy in affecting societal conditions, see Dye, *Understanding Public Policy*, pp. 342-343. Dye points out, for example, that some societal problems are incapable of solution because of the way they are defined; specific policies may not be able to eradicate problems that have multiple causes; solutions" may be more costly than the problem; people may adapt themselves to policies in ways that render the policies useless; policies that solve the problems of one group may create problems for other groups; there are *no* policies which can simultaneously attain mutually exclusive ends. Thomas R. Dye, *Understanding Public Policy* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1975), p. 107.

We might also do well to recognize Brown's observation:

> If the good of government is to "do everything and to change everything, then a constantly expanding bureaucracy is inevitable ...Unless we control our appetites, we cannot control our government. We certainly cannot expect it to limit itself, because it senses our appetites far more strongly than it is persuaded by our claims that we are tired of bureaucracy, taxes, and government...if the ultimate goal of government is readily an

> infinite challenge, then it will require an infinite effort--infinite taxes, infinite paperwork, and infinite interference...until the limits of exhaustion are reached.

Harold O.J. Brown, The Reconstruction of the Republic (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1977), p. 87.

In terms of poverty, Thorow notes a "dispension or valliance problem" which "falls into the category of economic problems for which there is no known solution wherein even equality of income would leave some people feeling relatively deprived." L.C. Thorow, "The Political Economy of Income Redistribution Policies," Annals, 409 (September, 1973), p. 150. Banfield notes, too, the kind of poverty described by Robert Hunter in 1904.

> They lived in God only knows what misery...Our Committees were busy from morning until night in giving them opportunities...to become independent of relief...they always took what we gave them...and took to misery and drink again...with a sense of relief.

According to Banfield, in Hunter's day these were the "depraved" "debased," or "unworthy," poor. In contemporary euphemism, they are "culturally deprived" or "multiproblem" poor. To Banfield, such persons constitute a social class among the poor whose poverty by-and-large is "inwardly" caused--reflecting not only lack of money but a radically improvident life style wherein "the capacity...to waste money is almost unlimited" and "improvements in external circumstances are likely to affect it gradually if at all." The Unheavenly City Revisited, pp. 142-143.

69. "It is not financially possible, for example, to provide 'free' urban public transportation. It would be possible to establish a limited, tax-supported public transportation system in large cities, but it is becoming increasingly evident that any good system will run up immense costs. If it is no good, no one will use it, and costs will quickly outstrip the system's usefulness. The limits we encounter through lack of resources or energy are an obstacle that no government, democratic or dictatorial, can brush aside." Brown, p. 132.

At the same time, it might be noted that a claim society cannot perform certain tasks may be an excuse or smokescreen for keeping that from being done which can and possibly should be done. One thinks, for example, of the argument against implementation of "civil rights" in the form social access as such social rights developed out of the black rights movement of the fifties and sixties. It has become quite clear, with respect to civil rights, that morality can be and has been legislated.

70. Robert Highsaw and C. N. Fortenberry, The Government and Administration of Mississippi (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1954), p. 11.

71. John R. Skates, "Modern Period," in Ralph D. Cross, et al., (eds.) Atlas of Mississippi (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1974) p. 49.

72. Ralph D. Cross, "Introduction," Atlas of Mississippi, p. 1

73. In Mississippi, the opportunity for community, identification, and opportunity are worth preserving. For discussion of the importance of opportunity for community, see Baker Brownell, The Human Community (New York: Harper and Bros., 1950).

74. Parameters of the modal, transitory society of the present and future, and some of its consequences, have been circumscribed by a number of authors, including the popular work Future Shock by Alvin Toffler. Certainly Mississippi is no longer blanketed by a Durkiemian agelicism which defines the parameters of its political or social structure. There is, in Durkheim's typology, a growth of organic rather than mechanical solidarity, and atomization of interest groups. However, it should be noted that community exists on a smaller more intimate scale than statewide boundaries. A major ingredient for the existence and exercise of community is that the conditions which give rise to and foster community are given opportunity for natural expression. While community may exist around physical symbols and functions in space (school, store, church area), the existence of communities of interest and constitutive norms will likely become of increasing functional importance. For example, public schools in a relatively homogenous culture are likely to receive socially wide constitutive support. As stated by McGraw:

> Up until the mid-sixties, schools operated largely within the framework of local decision-making majorities. The local majority model presupposed the possibility that all elements in the community, parents, teachers, business, civic, and church groups, could meet on a common ground to fund and operate the schools. Moreover, there was, in general, an agreement among these elements as to what should be taught in the form of a basic curriculum.

Oralee McGraw. Family Choice in Education: The New Imperative (Washington: The Heritage Foundation, 1978), p. 3. However as the political structure allows a "cultural minority" of representatives of a national educational establishment to implement their educational values and goals in local schools, parents concerned with life style questions are likely to question-the viability of public schools as a suitable vehicle for building and sustaining the moral order which they feel should provide the basic meaning for human lives and into which they wish their children socialized. Because education is a family charge, and because parents may come to recognize "they must grasp the nettle or lose their children," renewed efforts are likely to be made to educate their children in schools which reflect and which are the product or promulgators of constitutive norms rather than of alien norms which might be promulgated by and comprise the "hidden curriculum" (See McGraw, ibid., pp. 21-26) of state structures. Whereas a monolithic public school system may meet community needs in an area of concensus as to the core values which the public schools should represent, the diversity of modern society makes it impossible for a neutral hidden curriculum to exist which is acceptable to all citizens. The interest of statist's implicit if not explicit operational doctrine that the good state is the controlling state, and that "to be uncontrolled or to seek to be uncontrolled, is to be therefore criminal" (discussion of the kinetics of the doctrine of bureaucratic righteousness that a thing is "good" only in the hands of the state and subject to the rule and control of its agencies, committies, and departments, may be found in R.J. Rushdoony, Chalcedon Report, No. 158, October, 1978, p. 1) means that status groups which stand for a different tone of life are thrust in direct conflict over control children and their educational destiny. As expressed by Clelland and Page, "A style of life can be maintained or propagated only to the extent that its adherents exercise some control over the means of socialization and social intercourse." Ann L. Page and Donald A. Clelland, "The Kanawha County Textbook Controversy: A Study of the Politics of Life Style Concern," Social Forces, 57 (September, 1978), p. 267. Status groups concerned over the life style issue of the moral indoctridation and socialization of children represented by state structures and vested education interests are likely to opt for a retaking of educational hegemony by the parents to whom it belongs even as the messianic impulse of the total state seeks to suppress and harass their exercise of this basic freedom of belief, conscience, and practice. Concern for community, the viability of the basic voteries of socialization that Edmund Burke so aptly described as "the basic inns and nesting places of human nature,"and the opportunity for the exercise of gemeinschaft social relationships by communal constitutive interests would seem to require preservation of an arena for existence and exercise of community. In the instance at hand, the preservation of conditions which foster community and its natural expressions should not be artificially limited by harassment efforts (for illustrative example of proposed harassment see the Federal Registar (Feb. 13, 1959, 9455) announcing an effort to subjugate indigenous expressions of constitutive interest socialization to the value systems reflected in statist exercise of blanket hegemony over education. For general discussion of some of the substantive issues raised by indigeous efforts to promote, and statist attempts to obstruct, the exercise of constitutive community in education, see Alan N. Grover, Ohio's Trojan Horse (Greenville, S. C. : Dungodor Press, 1977) Cf.: J. E. Coons and S. D. Sugarman, Education by Choice: The Case for Family Control (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1978), and Onalee McGraw, Secular Humanism and the Schools: An Idea Whose Time Has Come (Washington: Heritage Foundation).

CHAPTER TWO -- MISSISSIPPI: STATE, PEOPLE, CULTURE

1. Which perhaps seemed less ancient in Mississippi than anywhere else. Loewen and Sallis have well and most appropriately stated: "We believe in the past as we live in the present," for "We were born in the past. We were formed by the past. In order to understand how we think or what is going on around us in society, we must understand the things that went on in the past." T.W. Loewen and C. Sallis, Mississippi: Conflict and Change (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 7. Cf.: John Crow Ransom, "Reconstructed But Unregenerate," in Twelve Southerners, I'll Take My Stand (New York: Harper and Row, 1930; Reprinted: New York: Peter Smith, 1951), pp. 1-27.

2. Per capita value of the products of industrial workers was estimated at ten times that of workers in agriculture and other extractive industries. John Van Sickle, Mississippi Population Trends and Their Implications (Jackson: Mississippi Board of Development, 1941), pp. 90-91.

3. John R. Skates, "Modern Period," in Ralph D. Cross, et al, (eds.) Atlas of Mississippi (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1974), p. 49; Skates, "World War II and Its Effects 1940-1948," in R.A. McLemore (ed.), A History of Mississippi 1973), pp. 120-139.

4. Charles R. Boland, The Impossible Era: The South Since World War II (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975)

5. As of 1973 Mississippi had 333 blacks in elective public office, the most of any state except Louisiana. National Register of Black Elected Officials (Washington: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1978).

6. McCord, The Long Hot Summer, p. 163.

7. James Loewen and C. Sallis, Mississippi: Conflict and Change.

8. McCord, The Long Hot Summer, p. 15. McCord claimed that the Mississippi of the past decade could be described as a time wherein the black Mississippian was "systematically deprived of his right to vote by rigged laws, chicanery, economic harassment, physical violence...". It has become clear that court decisions, federal legislation, nationalfunding pressures sures, and increased pressure by various private agencies, has altered the state away from an ethos and orientation wherein a local mayor could be expected to distribute Citizen's Council literature from city hall. McCord described Mississippi of the early 1960s as "a state obsessed with maintenance of segregation in support of white supremacy. It is a religion which, ...to its' believers, cleanses and sanctifies..." The Long Hot Summer, p. 29. For a poorly reasoned but anecdotally rich account of the origin, content, and expression of this orthodoxy, see J.W. Silver, Mississippi: The Closed Society (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1964). Silver's account documents an era of political appeal, excitement, motivation, and conviction that are heard no more (i.e. pp. 26, 27, 47-52, 64, 148-149, 127-140). Although some of the same actors remain, they clearly play different roles, and speak different parts. The whole arena--constituency, lines, roles, and script--has changed, although a rare voice is sometimes raised in opposition to "Yankee colonial oppression of the South." Jackson (MS.) Clarion-Ledger (December 12, 1978), p. 8.

9. Silver, The Closed Society, p. 157. On the other hand, Landry feels that higher socio-economic status white Mississippians have been more liberal on social matters such as race but more "conservative" on economic matters than have less affluent and less educated cohorts. He writes that "Despite the fact that so called populist governors get elected claiming they are the working man's candidate, the situation is not altered because the legislature runs the state..." (P. 6).

10. Portraits of the era, time, and ethos of the character and boyd politic and the decline of segregationist compaign rhetoric and effort may be found in Robert Sherrill, Gothic Politics in the Deep South (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1968), and Earl Black, Southern Governors and Civil Rights: Racial Segretation as a Campaign Issues in the Second Reconstruction (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

11. Whether it could be aptly and accurately so described is a challengeable presumption, which, at least to some degree, depends on perspective. "Mississippi has no better friend than James Jackson Kilpatrick," exclaimed Watler Lord (The Past That Would Not Die, 1965, p. 240), "yet even he conceded that the state 'cared not a fig for the good opinion of mankind' at the heighth of the Meredith case." Schiller, who has documented "in some detail the history of conservatives' retreat

from the stands of the fifties which places them today in virtual agreement with the position of fifties liberalism," selects the integration question as one of those representative former issues wherein "everywhere conservatives have confronted the left they have seen their basic assumptions defeated." Schiller catalogs three distinct stages of editorial policy in National Review (generally recognized symbolic leader of the intellectual right in America in the fifties and sixties) relative to the Negro equal rights movement. These are: 1) Defense of the Southern customs of discrimination because of "median cultural superiority of white over Negro"; 2) Acceptance of integration as "sociologically" (sic) or ethically desirable while maintaining the federal government had no constitutional right to force the South into compliance with divergent norms; 3) Recognition as a morally desirable goal and rightful prerogative of the federal government, but opposition on pragmatic grounds as unattainable because it ran contrary to the established ethos of the South. By the early 1960s the syndrome of retreat from the earlier efforts to defend the discriminatory system had set in.

> Gone was the talk of customs and "time-honored prejudices." Gone were the fiery talk of the Tenth Amendment and the call for "interposition."..James Jackson Kilpatrick (who during...the fifties called for using "every device of interposition" in opposition to "federal usurpations") wrote a special section of National Review that appeared at the time of the 1964 Republican convention..."Mr. Goldwater will ...enforce the 1964 law. The South must understand this."

Greg Schiller, The (Guilty) Consicence of a Conservative (New York: Arlington House, 1978), pp. 18-19.

12. The Citizen's Council was an indigenous community based segregationist/Constitutionalist group which, according to Landry, was "opposed to social change and opposed to government spending for social and economic development because its members /¯"business and professional people whose main purpose was to preserve the existing social structure"¯/ would have to pay for such programs." The Council "had little trouble receiving the support of lower SES whites," and constituted a highly important pressure in state politics in this era. As limited as Landry's assessment may be as to the movant gravamen of the

council's purpose, membership, or activity, there is little question but that the leadership of the Council was an intrusmental factor in resource mobilization, program coordination, and advocacy of opposition to federal pressure for integration which caused the rhetoric of massive resistance to remain viable well into the 1960s. The council, formed in Indianola by Robert B Patterson, was a "genuine grass roots movement...of black belt towns and rural communities, the reaction of the county seat elite." Norman V. Bartley, The Rise of Massive Resistence (Baton Rouge, La: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), pp. 62-107. The council was particularly significant in Mississippi. Ibid p. 86.

13. For extensive discussion, see N. McMillen, The Citizen's Council; Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64 (Gordon: University of Illinois Press, 1971).

14. Loewen and Sallis, Conflict and Change, p. 258.

15. McCord, The Long Hot Summer, p. 42. Attraction of real or imagined danger seems to repetitively surface as this somewhat "crisis" in history was also a "crisis for people" wherein human beings sought ways of expressing themselves. Erik Erikson, "Serpents and Doves; Nonviolent Youth in the South," in Robert Coles, Farewell to the South (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1972), pp. 181-218.

16. CORE, SWCC, SCLC, NAACB AND NCofC. McCord, pp. 25, 199-201. COFO's 1964 objectives were listed as increasing black voter registration and organizing a "Freedom Democratic Party" which "would challenge the power and patronage exercised by the regular Democratic party over the state." They also envisioned the establishment of facilities and community centers that would provide job training, health, education, libraries, and meeting places..." Ibid, pp. 17-18, 199-201.

17. To McCord and others, Mississippi was "the most crucial testing ground of the decade." The Long Hot Summer, p. 25. According to a cadre of University of Mississippi professors "confrontation within the state of the civil rights movement and the forces maintaining the status quo" was necessary to effectuate "significant change in the social and legal structure," making Mississippi "a crucial testing ground in the struggle to expand and improve American democracy." Ibid., p. 23,24. The planning, logistical support, and self-conception of participants could be likened to a combat force. Ibid., pp. 50-80. Some discuss- of the effect of civil rights lawyers may be found in F. Stevens and J. Maxey, "Representing the Unrepresented: A Decennial Report on Public-Interest (sic) Litigation in Mississippi," Mississippi Law Journal, 44 (1973), pp. 333-390.

18. Lord, p. 246; Loewen and Sallis, pp. 268-275.

19. It is perhaps ironic that intransigence was necessary for the success of the "civil rights" movement, and the potential for exploitation by engineering intransigence was strategically utilized. See Phil Brown, "When the White Walls Came Tumbling Down," Rural America, 4 (January, 1979), p. 5.

20. "...the glare of publicity on the state...helped break the Southern filibuster in Congress and pass the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act." Loewen and Sallis, p. 275. This imbroglio also introduced "hundreds of young volunteers into Mississippi and helped lay the basis for Berkeley in 1964 and Chicago in 1968." Ibid.

21. "One of the realizations that came out of the civil rights movement was that there were almost no provisions for the early childhood education of low-income Mississippians. In the spring of 1965, the Child Development Group of Mississippi (CDGM) was created...The federal government's Office of Economic Opportunity provided money, and a network of...centers developed..." Loewen and Sallis, p. 276. Stovall notes that "...the anti-poverty programs made the whites aware of the ability possessed by Negroes" and helped foster cross-cultural cooperation as "white county leaders realized that social change was coming and if it were not achieved by local people, forces from without would exert increased pressure." Roy Stovall, "A Socio-Economic Profile of Holmes County, Mississippi (A "research project" submitted to the faculty of the School of Social Welfare, Louisiana State University, 1969), p. 105.

22. For example, as of "1964 Mississippi still had only four black lawyers. But during the Freedom Summer, volunteer lawyers... came in...The continuing work of civil rights lawyers since then has been perhaps the most important single cause of change in Mississippi [illegible] relations." Loewen and Sallis, p. 275. The change from [illegible]ce and Reason Day" (October 26, 1961) attendted by the state's civic and business leadership who heard a proclamation of "an article of faith Mississippians could live by" in Carlton Putnam's enunciation of an ideology of "Racial Integrity", to the celebration of Fannie Lou Hammer Day in Ruleville Central High School in 1970, reflected a change more extensive in civil and cultural space far broader than the decade of chronological time involved. For discussion of the former (of which "there never had been another such day in Mississippi"), see Silver, p. 26. For the latter, Loewen and Sallis, pp. 277-278.

23. By the end of the summer, McCord writes, it could be said that Mississippi would never be the same again. In a variety of crucial sectors "Mississippi society underwent tangible and sometimes revolutionary, changes" in terms of education, politics, law enforcement, access to public accomodations, and community development and in "seeking the legitimate benefits provided by federal programs" and directed toward a goal of "changing the degraded condition of Mississippi Negroes." In addition, it became clear that a large cadre of white moderates would be available to shift color of allegiance and opinion "in providing a relatively peaceful climate for acceptance of school integration and of the Civil Rights Bill." McCord recalls the observation of a Catholic priest that "If we can just hold our organization together we can establish a powerful economic and political base for change." Ibid., p. 121.

Much of the resultant impetus for change appears to have been "tied to the desire for a new image that would pay off in industrial dollars." Sherrill, Gothic Politics in the Deep South, p. 321; Black, Southern Governor's and Civil Rights, pp. 63,64,223,305,383. According to Lord, the realities of economic development were quickly grasped by such groups as the Mississippi Economic Council, the Mississippi Banking Association and the Mississippi Manufacturing Association ,to whom, some felt, questions of constitutional law and respect for the basic and essential nature of a federal system of government were irrelevant when balanced against economic development and attraction of investments. They began to urge capitulation on the "civil rights" issues (The Long Hot Summer, p. 121), "bringing a new sense of realism in state politics." Landry, p. 11. The "long, hot summer of defiance," Lord states, "indicated it was impossible to be both respectable and intransigent .... the respectables went one way and the defiant the other...respectables decided that even the Council's brand of genteel defiance was only hurting the state's reputation " (p. 238). Furthermore, there was premonition warning from both executive and legislative leadership that "open intransigence" would be replaced by "an attempt to convince the rest of the country that Mississippi's spots have changed." Silver, p. xxxi. For illustrative legislative expression, see Kenneth Toler's article in the Memphis Commercial Appeal (January 31, 1964) reprinted in Silver, pp. xxxi-xxii.

It was clear that change, spearheaded by the business community, was incipiently emergent, a shift from what Silver claims was the earlier attitude of business leadership wherein "bold entrepreneurs...enamored of the satisfying status quo...riches and all that money will buy" saw little value in "thinking about the inevitable social and political changes bound to accompany economic progress" who turned the case of absence of black social, educational, and economic progress in a discriminatory society over to the Citizen's Council for interpretation" (p. 21). However, once the business elite recognized that "The colonialism and demagoguery that surrounded the attempt to maintain the *status quo* proved to be counter productive to efforts to bring new industry into the state.../and/ the advocates of retaining a segregated society were preventing new investments in the state and hindering economic growth" (Landry, pp. 9-11) moneyed interests begin to press for acquiesence and accomodation.

24. Ralph D. Cross, "Introduction," *Atlas of Mississippi*, p. 1.

25. Larry Whatley, "The Works Progress Administration in Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History*. 30 (February, 1968) pp. 37-38.

26. A recent laudatory article on Mississippi change quotes an industrialist:

> "We've made a lot of growth and progress...It's important for Mississippi... to industrialize as much as we can...small farmers are being squeezed off their land by low prices for crops and high costs... Small farming operations can't make a living...the small farmer is dying out. Farming is turning into a business, a big and expensive business...

Bill Sloat, "Rapid Growth Brings Pangs of Change," *South*, 6 (January 1979), p. 38. Cf.: J. Adams, "The Great Food Link: Farmer and Banking," *Ibid*., p. 51.

27. *Ibid*., p. 34.

28. According to Landry, "a contributing reason to why the state retains a traditionalistic...political system and the poorest economy in the nation is because of its continued domination by rural conservation" wherein "social norms and values tend to be more restrictive than in urban-oriented states." Landry has stated that the state's voting public has been more interested in maintaining the social status-quo than in voting their economic interest and in seeking government programs that would "bring about economic benefits to the working man." Consequently, according to Landry, Mississippi's political "conservatism" has been derived by a "cross-linkage between upper-income types on economic issues and the lower-income group on social issues." One result claimed is that "The tax burden in the state is very heavy on the lower SES groups with the highly regressive sales taxes (including food and

medicine) and a relatively low progressive income tax." To Landry, "economic conservatives" have dominated the state as a result of catering to "social conservatism", with an obvious detriment to social and economic welfare. According to his analysis, Mississippi voters should become "economically liberal" on a "liberal-conservative spectrum" and thereby seek "higher wages, reduced tax burdens...and increased government spending" in "seeking to change their economic position." David M. Landry, "The Socioeconomic Environment and Its Impact on the Political System," in *Mississippi Government*, p. 5. According to Landry, "working-class people tend to favor government sponsored programs that assist them such as... free schools...price supports for crops...paid for by tax paying businesses and upper-income persons...the working class normally favors taxing the rich to provide for the common man." *Ibid*. Whether taken in part (i.e., the contradictory combination of reduced tax burdens and increased government spending, the presumption of "free" schools which take the majority of the working men's tax confiscations by state and local government, as opposed to nonpublic schools, and denial of opportunity for escape from the double bind burden which limits parental choice in education, or the contention that "price supports" benefits rather than penalizes the economically nonprivileged class) or in whole (presumption that the thrust of government is to serve rather than extract from labor), this perspective seems to this writer to be a testimony, if not to monumental ignorance, at least to a capsule symbolic expression of professiorial faith and shibboleth. However, it must be admitted that many economic "conservatives" and conservators of privilege would agree that it is the overprivileged rather than the hoipolloi who shoulder the greater portion of the tax burden. Furthermore, there is sufficient accuracy (social electrification and all weather highways, polio vaccination and chrolonation of water, *have* been a tremendous boom to we common people) and populist appeal in tenor and direction to provide a sheen of veracity. If the explanation is academic exercise rather than advice and pointing of direction on a means-end scheme, the following modification is offered, namely, that people do frequently vote their economic interest as they perceive it, and in so doing, support programs ostensibly in their benefit but for which they rather than the more advantaged carry the economic costs of programs which may be structured so as to simultaneously benefit the well-to-do and their interests while imposing a comparative burden upon the less advantaged. Rent supplement programs (which guarantee rental payments to entrepreneurs) or agricultural and business subsidies would seem to be prime examples. The marketing and propagandizing of welfare programs for the well-to-do (i.e., price supports) seems to have been accomplished in part under the misconception and charade that 1) the costs were being paid by the rich rather than the less privileged, and 2) that the programs have been in the interest of the hoipolloi rather than of privileges vested interests. Without question, as long as sufficient voters are persuaded they are gaining at the expense of other entities they will opt for them unless there are intervening circumstances. Landry indicates that pre-emption of social over economic issues (specifically, race) in the public policy forum until recent years has detracted voter attention away from recognition of and concentration on their economic interests. Furthermore, according to Landry, low socio-economic status of the majority of the state's white population is said to have fostered a political culture which manifests "a low threshold of tolerance on civil liberties" since "the poor white could always claim he was better off than the black and thus lay claim to an assumed position of social superiority" (pp. 6-7).

29. Landry, p. 4. The movement of "massive resistance" which dominated Southern politics during much of the 1950s is ably discussed in Bartley, The Rise of Massive Resistance.

30. Landry, p. 4.

31. E. Nolan Waller, "Agriculture: A Vital Sector of Mississippi's Economy," Mississippi's Business, 36 (October, 1977), pp. 1-2.

32. As Lord noted, the changes in state politics portended by increased black voting were monomental. "...Sheriff's will lose their jobs; county officials will have to be more equal in their distribution of federal largesse; and state representatives will find less and less political profit in baiting the Negro." Lord, "The Long Hot Summer, p. 187

33. J.E. Fortenberry, Cleavage in Mississippi Politics (Oxford: University of Mississippi, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1966); Monroe Billinton, The Political South in the Twentieth Century (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975), p. 125.

34. Black voting and the reality of blacks as a political force is a new status quo similar to that of the disenfranchisement of blacks from the political process in the past. Consequently, a challenge thereto is now a deviation from status quo harmony, just as any departure from segregationist oratory was a violation of status quo normative harmony of the past. Black, Southern Governor's and Civil Rights, pp. 325-326.

35. Goldwater "was merely the spokesman and, above all, the symbolic representative of fifties conservatism. As the theoreticians of that conservatism began to forsake its tenets, Goldwater no longer found any reason to continue to champion a cause that clearly...would never triumph." Craig Schiller, The (Guilty) Conscience of a Conservative (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978), p. 28. However, in 1964 Senator Goldwater, though of altered perspective vis-a-vis compulsory integration, remained a symbolic representative of the fifties conservatism rather than of the metamorphasis wherein conservatives "moved away from principles concerning civil rights that they had expressed in the fifties" (p. 20) and "Everybody who was anybody on the American right had long since gone on record as favoring civil rights" (p. 18). In 1964 Mississippi voted principle and morality rather than self-interest in a move that was of near universal concensus among local citizenry and political influentials. To borrow from the title of J. Evetts Haley's A Texan Looks at Lyndon, Mississippian's examined the principles, practices, and behavior represented by the candidates on the Democratic ticket and overwhelmingly decided to vote republican. Rarely has a people spoken so decisively as a matter of priniciple. Congressman, John Bell Williams, stripped of his congressional seniority, returned home and became governor. South Carolina Sen. Thurmond, former Dixiecrat presidential candidate, made the dramatic switch from Democrat to Republican in the midst of a television broadcast in which a panel periodically flashed on the screen began as "Strom Thurmond-Democrat" and changed to "Strom Thurmond-Republican." It was a different time, different climate, different era. Sometimes the public has a very short political memory, and a quickly satieted capacity for indignation, as some Georgia state politicians were to quickly learn in the first statewide election following their repudiation of the Democrats after Chicago in 1968.

When Mr. Goldwater received the 1964 Republican nomination, apparently abandoning his prior position which recommended state noncompliance with "unconstitutional" directives, he publically supported enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Schiller, p. 18). Even so, the Arizonian stood without compromise for everything old-guard conservatism stood for" (opposition to federal involvement in education, agriculture, and welfare; recognition of foreign aid as unwise; support of strict construction). The American people, writes Schiller, read Goldwater "quite accurately and rejected him decisively" (p. 124). "In point of fact, 1964 was in all probability the year in which the question of government's entry into the social-welfare field was settled forever" (Ibid, p. 123). Perhaps the Democratic and Republican party labels are packaging strategies for the same camarilla of elite political interests. For explanation, see Patricia O. Brooks, The Return of the Puritans (Philadelphia: Whittaker Books, 1976), pp. 102-123.

36. Such voting was adverse to the desideratum of "...generous assistance from the federal government for programs...government spending so industry would be attracted to the state and so that its population could attain full employment and enjoy a more abundant life ...public spending on programs that would help the livlihood of the small farmer..." To Landry, these grails of enlightened accomplishment contrast gloriously to "The Republican emphasis on curtailment of public spending on programs that would help the livelihood of the small farmer...in Mississippi" Landry, "The Socioeconomic Environment," p. 10. The differential is accounted for by the fact that Republican party is "less concerned with the needs of the working man and more interested in business profits, banking interests, balanced budgets, and preventing inflation." Ibid., 10. The contention that the Republican Party is more interested in business profits or banking interests than the Democratic Party has not been confirmed by the behavior of the Democrats, and neither has demonstrated much effectiveness vis-a-vis inflation, nor has either party, particularly the Republicans during the tenure of President Nixon, given factual cause for any scienter of accusation of seeking to balance the public budget.

37. 87% of Mississippi's presidential vote went to the Dixiecrats, 64% "of the vote was cast against John Kennedy /and Camelot/ in 1964," while Barry Goldwater's cause that did not triumph outside of five southern states received 87% of the Mississippi vote. Mississippi showed its mettle in 1968 by rewarding Governor Wallace with 64% of the vote.

38. Loewen and Sallis, p. 282.

39. R. Tatalovich, "The Role of the Mississippi Electorate in a Changing Political System," in Mississippi Government, p. 17.

40. Such as the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the assumption of federal supervision over various tasks and functions previously recognized as explicity and largely exclusively reserved for State and local determination (i.e., the apportionment of State legislatures and the drawing of legislative districts or the extension of municipal boundaries).

41. Landry, p. 3. Governor Williams is said to have championed a new era "of not merely accepting but actively seeking as many millions of federal aid as can be obtained" in "a major break from our state's past" in a way "which a governor with a more liberal background would have found difficult to sell to the public or to the legislature." Editorial, Tupelo (Ms.) Journal, circa January 18, 1972.

42. Ned Smith, "JBW Discusses School Crisis," Jackson (Ms.) Daily News (Dec. 16, 1969), p.4. The firey beligerency of the past became a fast fading whimper which departed with some symbolic gesturing in respect of earlier rhetoric, such as "hope that Congress might reestablish freedom of choice or legalize some other means of maintaining quality education." Ibid. Deduction of private school tuition from ad volorem taxes was one aftermath proposal. "JBW's Program Slated for Solons on Tuesday: Bill to Direct Public School Taxes to Private Schools Rises," Daily News (Jackson, Ms) (January 8, 1970), p.1; Williams Calls for Support of Schools," Jackson (Ms.) Clarion Ledger (January 14, 1970), p. 1; "Statewide Political Meet to Offer School Solutions," Jackson (Ms) Clarion Ledger (December 31, 1969), Sen. Stennis urged "a quiet response to total integration" as strategy that would "help inmeasurably in efforts to gain relief on a national scale," and suggested that the state should meet give up "hope" for modification. "Hope" had clearly replaced beliggerency. "Don't Give Up Hope, Senator Urges Here: Quiet Mix Response to Aid Efforts -- Stennis," Jackson (Ms.) Clarion Ledger (January 16, 1970), p. 1.

43. "Mississippi Faces School Desegregation: A State Surrenders," Chicago Tribune (January 4, 1970).

44. Ibid.

45. "Sumner Says His Office Just Begun to Fight," Jackson (Ms.) Clarion-Ledger (November 27, 1969), p. 3; Charles B. Gordon, "State Officials Plan Legal Fight," Jackson (Ms.) Daily News (December 12, 1969) -A.

46. "State Officials Eye Better - Image Drive," Jackson (Ms.) Clarion Ledger (December 11, 1973), p. 1A

47. Johanna Neuman, "News Flash," Jackson, (Ms.) Clarion-Ledger, (July 25, 1978).

48. "Looking Up To Mississippi," Memphis (Tn.) Commercial-Appeal, (January 6, 1976).

49. Alan Carpenter, The New Enchantment of America: Mississippi (Chicago: Children's Press, 1978), p. 88

CHAPTER FIVE -- POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGE

1. Mississippi State Board of Development, Mississippi: America's of Opportunity (1944), p. 13.

2. Marion Clawson, Policy Directions for U.S. Agriculture (Baltimore: 1968), p. 51

3. For discussion of the growth and decline of Mississippi population centers, see A.A. Fanelli and Harold A Petersen, Growth Trends of Mississippi Population Centers, 1900-1950 (State College: Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, Social Science Studies. Community Series No. 10, 1956); George L. Wilber and Ellen Bryant, Growth of Mississippi Counties and Cities 1950 to 1960 (State College: MAES Bulletin 608, 1960), or John N. Burrus, "Urbanization in Mississippi 1890-1970," in R.A. McLemore (ed.), A History of Mississippi, Vol. II (Hattiesburg: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1970), pp. 346-372.

4. Burrus, "Urbanization" p. 326.

5 Something of the political effects of urbanization are suggested in Charles N. Fortenberry and F. Glenn Abney, "Mississippi Unreconstructed and Unredeemed " in William C. Havard (ed.), The Changing Politics of the South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 475-76, 483,519.

6. Burrus, "Urbanization," p. 326.

7. Ellen S. Bryant, "State Population Sets New Trends," Mississippi Farm Research, 12 (December, 1971), p. 4.

8. V.O. Key, Southern Politics (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1950) p. 232.

9. Morton B. King, Harold A. Pedersen, and John N. Burrus, Mississippi's People, 1950 (University: Univ. of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration, 1955), p. 14.

10. Harold F. Kaufman and John K. Thomas, Twenty-Five Years of Community Development in Northeast Mississippi (State College MAFES, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 20, 1971), pp. 1-2.

11. Ibid.

12. Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 to 1970, (State University: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974), p. 14.

13. Bryant, "State Population Sets New Trends," p. 5.

14. Bryant, Population Growth and Redistribution, p. 9. This is probably largely attributable to the attractiveness of the area for industrialization and the subsequent increase in manufacturing employment, Characteristics of the population seem to make this a desirable area for plant location. Niles M. Hansen, The Future of Nonmetropolitan America (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1973), pp. 106-107; R. Eufus Lonsdale, "Deterrents to Industrial Location in the Rural South," Research Previews, 15 (April, 1969), pp. 1-7.

Furthermore, this area benefitted from an uneven terrain which made it an area of small farmers. Thus, the comparitively "poor" northeast hill country as contrasted with the proverbially rich and affluent Delta area remained more in the nature of a yeoman small farmer economy in which a single individual or family unit conbined the functions of capital and laborer rather than a bifurcation in the form of plantation agriculture and the great affluence of the highly privileged comparative few of the Mississippi-Delta simultaneously with the dependence and poverty of tne many.

15. Bryant, Population Growth and Redistribution, p. 9.

16. Jackson County was the fastest growing county (76.8%) during 1950-1960, while Rankin County, which grew by 18.8%, was the fourth fastest growing county in Mississippi in the fifties, behind Jackson, Hinds (31.6%) and Lowndes (23.2%). DeSoto County lost population by 2.9% during the fifties.

17. Inclusive of Webster, which neither gained nor lost total population during 1960-1970.

18. Gordon F. DeJong and Ralph R. Sell, "Population Redistribution, Migration, and Residential Preference," Annals, 429 (January, 1977), p. 130.

19. Gordon F DeJong,and C.R. Humphrey, "Selected Characteristics of Metropolitan-to-Nonmetropolitan Area Migrants: A Study of Population Redistribution in Pennsylvania," Rural Sociology 41 (Winter 1976), p. 526.

20. John M. Wardwell and C. Jack Gilchrist, "Metropolitan Change and Nonmetropolitan Growth" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, April 13-15, 1978), p. 9; "Equilibrium Change and Nonmetropolitan Growth." Rural Sociology, 42 (Summer, 1977), pp. 156-179.

21. Calvin L. Beale, "A Further Look at Nonmetropolitan Population Growth Since 1970," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 58 (1976), pp. 953-958; "Current Status of the Shift of U.S. Population to Smaller Communities" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, St. Louis, 1977); Calvin L. Beale and Glenn V. Fuguitt, The New Pattern of Nonmetropolitan Population Change (Madison: Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Wisconsin, Working Paper 75-22, 1978).

22 E. Graber, "Newcomers and Oldtimers: Growth and Change in a Mountain Town, "Rural Sociology, 39 (Winter, 1974), pp. 504-513.

23. T. Steahr and J. Brown, "Changing Preference Schedules As an Explanation of Nonemetropolitan Growth" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, 1978), p. 22.

24. DeJong and Sell, "Population Redistribution," p. 142.

25. Donald Thomas and Douglas Bachtel, "The Rural Turnaround in Southern Ohio: A Five County Study" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the population association of America, Atlanta, April, 1978), p. 21.

26. Ibid., p. 22.

27. DeJong and Sell, "Population Redistribution," p. 144.

28. For discussion of the operation of mortality and natality in Mississippi until mid-century, see King, et al. pp. 16-43.

29. The 1,057 deaths from tuberculosis in 1940 were reduced to 558 in 1950 (eighth leading cause of death), 147 in 1960, and 40 in 1970.

30. Abdel R. Omran, "The Epidemologic Transition in North Carolina During the Last 50 to 90 Years: The Mortality Transition," North Carolina Medical Journal (January, 1975), p. 24.

31. For example, if 10 people survived to age interval 10, and 5 died at age 12, these five would live a total of 2 x 5 = 10 years during that interval. The five who lived through age 14 would live a total of 5 x 10 = 50 years during this interval. The total years lived in this interval by those alive at the beginning of the interval would be 60 years. Five persons would be alive at the beginning of the subsequent interval.

Column five also shows what the total population would be under assumptions of a stationary population with 100,000 births each year subject to the same age-specific mortality. When considering a life table it is important to remember that the ratio of survivors at any given age is not a prediction of what will happen. It is, rather, a mathematical array of what would happen to a population of 100,000 born in a given year if subject to the mortality rates for the time period for which the life table was constructed throughout their life span.

32. Until the development of antibiotics the birth rate of Delta blacks was noticeably low. One important explanatory factor seems to have been "the high rate of venereal disease rate among Negroes who live in the Delta near the River." John C. Belcher and Morton B. King, Mississippi's People (University: Bureau of Public Administration, Sociological Study Series, No. 2, 1950), p. 22. Cf: J. Vandiver, The Rate of Reproduction of the Rural Negro in the Yazoo - Mississippi Delta (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Louisiana State University, 1946).

33. Center for Disease Control, Actual Versus Desired Fertility: Estimates for Counties and Other Local Areas, Mississippi (1978), pp. 7-8.

34. Robert Weller, Wanted and Unwanted Childbearing in the United States (Hyattsville, Md.: DHEW, Public Health Service, National Center for Health Statistics, September, 1978).

35. Selma Pernoff Taffel, Trends in Fertility in the United States (Hyattsville, Md.: DHEW, Public Health Service, Health Resources Administration, National Center for Health Statistics, 1977), p. 21.

36. Don A. Dillman and Russell P. Dobash, Preferences for Community Living and Their Implications for Population Redistribution (Washington AES Bulletin 764, 1972), p. 1. The danger of the war babies reaching the period when Myrtle of the nursery in the late 1940s and the 1950s may be Myrtle the fertile in the late 1970s and early 1980s could premonition a renewed reproductive onslaught. Furthermore, the comparitively low birth rates recently and contemporarily may not be as optismistic as they might appear at first glance when it is realized that they represent in excess of 40,000 births annually in Mississippi. It might be added that the increased unemployment in the 1970s and the tightened job market notwithstanding record numbers of persons employed was a consequence of the demographic demolition of the post war baby binge. Such structural unemployment illustrates a social impact of the demographic factor of natality. In the mid-1970s, as the excessive (and frequently over trained for the jobs available) jobs seekers of the post-war "baby boom" hit the job market there was difficulty in absorbing even the engineering and science students, not to mention those with bachelor and graduate degrees in gardyloo areas. Minimum wage laws, along with union barriers and impositions, were additional causes of structural unemployment among women, racial minorities, and teenagers seeking part-time employment. Zammito has noted that "while it is hard for an unskilled worker to find a job, it is sometimes even worse for a highly skilled worker for whom there is no work in his field of experience." John H. Zammito, Dynamics of Southern Growth (Memphis: Morgan, Keegan & Co., Inc. 1972), p. 7. The danger of another population blast has been de-

scribed by Thomas as an "ominous" development "which cannot but contribute to our pressing poverty problems." Poverty in the Nonmetropolitan South, p. 103.

A study of mothers 15-44 in 1973 indicated that over one-fourth of black births and 10% of the white births were not "wanted" prior to conception. That the number of actually "wanted" births is possibly greatly inflated may be suggested in that over half of the never married "mothers" reported their pregnancy as "wanted". "Wanted and Unwanted Births by Mothers 15-44 Years of Age: United States, 1973," Advance Data, No. 9, August 10, 1977 (U.S. DHEW, Public Health Service, Health Resources Administration).

37. Vital Statistics, 1975 (Jackson: Mississippi State Board of Health), pp. 107-108.

38. Monthly Vital Statistics Report, "Annual Summary for the United States, 1977," DHEW Publication No. CPHS) 79-1120, Vol. 26, No. 13 (December 7, 1978), p. 20.

39. Visibilities: 1) Abandoned tenant residences; decline of small village trade centers; 2) Vacated business districts; 3) Construction, expansion, and invasion through urban overspill by simultaneous centralization-decentralization.

It is estimated that during the 1950s a migrant left one household in six in Mississippi each year. Harald A. Pedersen and Leila H. Thomas, Estimated Population Trends in Mississippi, 1950-56 (State College: MAES Bulletin 550, 1957), p. 1. Black migration may have provided an outlet for black frustration over problems of sharecropping and segregation, giving escape north an aura of finding the promise land. James W. Loewen and Charles Sallis, Mississippi: Conflict and Change (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), p. 208. David Cohn, Where I was Born and Raised (Boton: Houghton Mifflin, 1948), pp. 331-356. See note contra.

40. However, there is considerable evidence (discused infra) of a reversal of long established streams. For example, the South, which has been described as the "seedbed of the nation because of its largescale out-migration to other areas, has become a net receiving area for migrants. Willie Morris is one of many, particularly of the educated class, who moved "North toward home." There were greater numbers, however, who moved from home into an alien ethos because the jobs were in the north; their out-migration was not dictated by a moral or cultural disapproval of life in the South or its weltanschauung. These were aptly characterized in the song "Detroit City" which memoralised a spiritual malaise.

41. E. Nolan Waller, Net Migration for Mississippi's Counties 1960-1970 (University, Ms.: Univ. of Mississippi Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1975), p. 7. One reason

for the heavier out-migration of younger persons is that they are more favorably situated to take advantage of opportunities elsewhere. Employers, particularly in the case of current college graduates, may be more likely to actively recruit; there may greater opportunity for beginning than for older and/or more occupationally advanced persons in some instances; sunk costs weighing against migration are likely to be of less magnitude; the logistics of moving are likely to be simpler and less costly than after acquisition of dependents, etc.

42. *Ibid*.

43. Billy J. Eatherly and Fred M. Wrighton, *Mississippi Migration, 1965-70: Facts, Theories and Public Policies* (Mississippi State: Mississippi State University, Social Science Research Center, Report 44, 1974), p. 2.

44. For representative statements equating migration to "economic loss" in Mississippi, see Harold A. Pedersen, "The Costs of Migration. "*The Church in the Changing Community* (State College: Mississippi State College, Sociology and Rural Life Conference, 1956); L. Cole and Harold F. Kaufman, *Mississippi Program in Trade Center Development* (State College: Mississippi State University, Progress Report in Sociology and Rural Life, No. 17, 1961), p. 1.

45. Kenneth W. Hollmon and Brian S. Rungeling, *Mississippi's Population (1960-1970): General Characteristics* (University, MS.: University of Mississippi, Center for Manpower Studies, 1971), p. 27.

46. Ellen S. Bryant and George L. Wilber, *Net Migration in Mississippi 1950-1960* (State College, MS.: MAES Bulletin 632, 1961).

47. Gerald W. Johnson, *The Wasted Land* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), p. 52.

48. Jonathan Daniels, "Men at the Corner," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, 31 (1955), p. 222; Wilson Gee, "The Drug of Talent Out of the South," *Social Forces*, 18 (October, 1939), pp. 41-47; Howard Odom, *Southern Regions of the United States*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), p. 371. To Vance, "Not even now can the South spare the labor of its Negroes. Rupert Vance, *All These People*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945), p. 478.

49. A. Alexander Faneli and H. A. Petersen, *Growth Trends of Mississippi Population Centers*, 1900-1950 (State College: Mississippi State College, Social Science Research Center, Community Series No. 10, 1956). A similar expression was

made by the author of a "research project" for a "master of social work degree" who conceptualized the "implications of population trends" in a Delta County in terms of a "need," as he put it, "to strengthen and enhance the potential of the county to retain its youth" since "they are also the source from which come the new county leaders and the new generation." The equation of generational succession with a "need" to retain out-migrants is not quite clear. One might posit that expressions of this orthodoxy might be made precisely because it is acceptable orthodoxy (rather than because of its substance or its logical content) based on the equation that growth is good. Elmo Povall, "A Socio-Economic Profile of Holmes County, Mississippi" (Unpublished "Research project" submitted to the faculty of the School of Social Welfare, Louisiana State University, May, 1969), p. 33.

50. M. J. Greenwood, "Research on Internal Migration in the United States: A Survey," Economic Literature, 13 (June, 1975), p. 415.

51. Billy J. Eatherly and Fred M. Wrighton, Mississippi Migration.

52. This example is illustrative, though obviously and admittedly an oversimplification. However, it does suggest the broad outlines of the effect of migration. Of course, in reality, an individual laborer might well be an owner of rental or other property, and thus benefit from the higher costs of rent attributable to in-migration. Or, if one is in some servicing activity, or in a selling capacity, in-migration would likely be thought of as desirable (perhaps allowing one to make enough sales off the increase in demand to escape the effects of in-migration by commuting, etc.).

53. Conceivably, out-migration, by lowering demand, could have the effect of lowering land taxes. This would benefit small land-owners who do not possess large amounts of capital and whose increase in income is not pyramied through capital leverages. Those profiting from the use of capital might find it desirable to promote in-migration, industrialization, and the accountrements of growth and progress since their return, being multiplied thereby,might enable them to acquire possession of valuable resources at an even greater rate and raise the cost thereon to labor. Furthermore, it would likely increase the economic activity of an area in terms of bank accounts, loans, mortgages, etc., which are desirable to capital. One might suggest that the broad characterization of beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries from in-migration, and the greater likelihood of the latter to be in opinion molding policy making and directing, and issue defining positions, may have some impact on the alignment of interests in promotion

of policies of growth and in-movement generally (particularly when they are of an idiom that practically equates stability or out-movement with pathology) and the interests of the state in promotion of in-movement and industrial development.

54. Eatherly and Wrighton, *Mississippi Migration*, p. 33.

55. "Apparently, Mississippi's out-migrants judged their opportunities reasonably well, since they gained roughly $381 per year by moving." *Ibid*.

56. *Ibid*, p. 382.

57. Richard F. Wertheimer, *Rural-to-Urban Migration: Implications for Government Policy* (Washington: Research Memorandum for the OEO, 1967), p. 61.

58. Edwin S. Mills, "Economic Aspects of City Size," in *Population Distribution*, quoted in J. Weber, *Grow or Die!* (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1977), pp. 114-115 ; D. M. Crider, "Migrant Status and Success," *Rural Sociology*, 43 (Fall, 1978), pp. 386-402; Jon H. Rieger, "Geographic Mobility and the Occupational Attainment of Rural Youth," *Rural Sociology*, 37 (June, 1972), pp. 187-207.

59. John L. McCoy, *Factors Associated with Level-of-Living in Washington County, Mississippi* (Washington: USDA, Economic Research Service, Technical Bulletin No. 1501), p. 26.

60. Niles M. Hansen, "Some Neglected Factors in American Regional Development Policy: The Case of Appalachia," *Land Economics*, XLII (February, 1966), p. 9.

61. John B. Parr, "Outmigration and the Depressed Area Problem," *Land Economics*, 52 (May, 1966), pp. 157-158.

62. Larry H. Long and C. G. Boertlin, *The Geographical Mobility of Americans* (Washington: USGPO, CPR, Special Studies, Series p. 23, No. 64, 1976), p. 30.

63. Pat Watters, *The South and the Nation* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 140.

64. *Ibid*. Furthermore, the "quality" of "those better educated immigrants" was open to question, else, apparently, why would they be South? Consider the educators, Watters asked in illustrative example, "who would chose to come South to teach?" *Ibid*, p. 141.

64. That one mechanical cotton picker could do the work of 150 field hands meant an ever decreasing need for black agri-

cultural labor. Whereas a manor lord of 2,000 acres needed 60 families in 1950, by 1965 he needed only three. Lord described the surface change as scenic "...the shiny red and yellow machinery ... the lonely chimneys and empty cabins rotting in the fields..." beneath which lay the statistical import of an out-migration of 680,000 blacks 1940-1965. Walter Lord, The Past that Would not Die (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 242.

66. E. L. Baum and E. O. Heady, "Some Effects of Selected Policy Programs on Agriculture Labor Mobility in the South," Southern Economic Journal, 25 (January, 1959), pp. 327-337.

67. Ellen S. Bryant and Jerry Woofle Fly, 1967 Mississippi County Population Setimates by Race and Age (State College: MAES, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 20, 1967), p. 3.

68. R. B. Highsaw, The Delta Looks Forward: An Inventory of Natural and Human Resources (Stoneville, MS.: Delta Council, 1949), p. 82; L. Szaastad, "The Costs and Returns of Human Migration," Journal of Political Economy, 70 (October, 1962), pp. 80-93; Marshall Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development (Chapel Hill: University of NC Press, 1965), pp. 16-24.

69. Eatherly and Wrighton, p. 32. Heretofore, Mississippi's in-migration, at least in terms of black in-migration, has been such that the state has been characterized by overall stability rather than growth. However, at least during 1965-1970, it appears that blacks were a minority of the out-migrants from Mississippi (about ¼th of the Eatherly-Wrighton sample). While Mississippi was beset with a considerable flow of in-migration during 1965-1970, this was largely a white phenomenon. Eatherly and Wrighton state that "the propensity of blacks to move elsewhere seems no greater than for whites... the lifetime tendency of blacks to leave is not greatly different from that of whites." Black male out-migrants amounted to only 10.6% of the 1970 population of blacks, compared to 12.2% for whites. Mississippi Migration, pp. 3, 16, 32.

70. Ralph J. Fizzbaum, "The Effort to Industrialize," in R. McLemore (ed.) A History of Mississippi, pp. 229-242; E. Hopkins, "Mississippi's BAWL Plan," Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta (January, 1944); Beeple Joyner and J. Thames, "Mississippi's Efforts at Industrialization, Mississippi Law Journal, 38 (1967), pp. 433-487.

Industrial development was a major motif in the community development programs which came to prommence in the 1950s. For discussion of existence, objective, and effect thereof, see Harold F. Kaufman, Community Development Programs in the Southeast (State College: Mississippi State College, Social

Science Studies, Community Series No. 9, 1956); Harold F. Kaufman and John Thomas, Twenty-Five Years of Community Development in Northeast Mississippi (State College: Mississippi State University, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 24, 1971); Andrew Wesley Baird and W. Calhoun Bailey, Community Development Clubs in Alcorn County, Mississippi (State College: MAES Bulletin 597, 1960).

71. Among the more important caveats (whose signifigance was at least such as to insure a place in regional literature) was that of the Agrarians. One of the questions which the Agrarians felt of salience was posited in I'll Take my Stand: They asked: "How may the little agrarian community resist the Chamber of Commerce of its county seat, which is always trying to import some foreign industry that cannot be assimilated into the life-pattern of the community? ...what must the Southern leaders do to defend the traditional Southern life? ...what anti-industrial measures might promise to stop the advances of industrialism, or even undo some of them, with least harm..." They suggested "If a community, or a section, or a race, or an age, is growing under industrialism, and well aware of its evil dispensation, it must find the way to throw it off. To think this cannot be done is pusillanious. And if the whole community, section, race, or age thinks it cannot be done, Then it has simply lost its political genius and doomed itself..." Twelve Southerners, I'll Take my Stand (New York: Harper, 1930), p. XX. For a response, see Peter Carmichael, "Jeeter Lester, Agrarian Par Excellence," Sewance Review, XLVII (1940).

72. The feeling of an "urgent necessity to win ... more industry" as a means of halting population less among public figures is indicative. "Winter Worried Over Population Loss" Jackson (MS.) Daily News (August 12, 1958); Tim Parker, "State Population Loss Worries JP: Governor Makes Unusual Appeal Before Bondsmen," Jackson (MS.) Daily-News (August 14, 1957).

73. George L. Wilber and C. Robbins, Estimated Population Trends in Mississippi, 1950-58 (State College: MAES Bulletin 577, 1959), p. 7.

74. Ibid.

75. Burrus, "Urbanization in Mississippi."

76. David M. Landry and Joseph B. Parker, Mississippi Government and Politics in Transition (Dubuque, IA.: Kendall/Hunt, 1976), p. 3.

77. John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1937) observed a less restrictive normative structure and greater independence of urban than rural blacks.

77. William McCord, *Mississippi: The Long, Hot Summer* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1965), p. 163.

78. *Ibid*.

79. David L. Cohn, *Where I was Born and Raised*, pp. 133-155.

80. Ellen S. Bryant, *Net Migration in Mississippi, 1950 to 1960* (State College: Mississippi AES, 1961), pp. 5, 9; George L. Wilber, *Mississippi Population* (Paper prepared for Special Committee on Economic Blueprint, Mississippi Economic Council, 1962), pp. 1-3.

81. E. Nolan Waller. *Net Migration for Mississippi's Counties 1960-1970* (University, Miss.: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1971), p. 1.

82. The 62% white population in 1970 was a near reversal of the proportion in 1900 when 60% of the population was black. Ellen S. Bryant, "State Population Sets New Trends," *Mississippi Farm Research* (December, 1971), p. 4.

83. Rungeling and Hollman, commenting on Mississippi's "slow increase" (of 22.6%) in persons age 15-24 during 1960-1970, claimed this "indicates that the State does not have the rate of growth ... of human capital that some of the neighboring states have." This was described as a "problem" which continued out-migration "may further complicate" unless "the State can offer economic advantages superior to these of other states." Brian S. Rungeling and Kenneth W. Hollman, "A profile of Mississippi's changing Population," *Mississippi's Business*, 30 (October, 1971), p. 3.

84. The growth in the 65 and over age-group was allocated by Rungeling and Hollman as due "to general advancements in health, medical care, and life expectancy." *Ibid*, p. 3. This is logically true in terms of numbers, but is hardly more true for the aged than other adults, with the possible exception of springing females, since gains in life expectancy have accrued primarily at the younger ages. See the discussion of of epidemiological change, life expectancy, and survivorship in in Mississippi in the text.

It is perhaps ironic that the comparatively mild growth of population age 45-64 (lowest of any Southern state) was seen as encumbering "a whole host of new and complex social and economic problems" for the state " as this group reaches retirement age in the next decade or two, considering the increasing life expectance in this country." *Ibid*, p. 3. If the presence of aged persons equals "a whole host of new ...problems," one wonders why the lament at the "slow increase" of persons 15-24, which mildness could seem to spare the state "a whole host of ..." over the long run.

85. The cause of the increased proportion of the aged component of the population is sometimes misunderstood, as reflected in the comment of Hollman and Rungeling: "... during this century, with increased life expectancy, the over 65 age group as a percentage of total population has grown very fast in both the U.S. and Mississippi." Mississippi's Population (1960-1970: General Characteristics, p. 8. While increased life expectancy has increased the number of aged persons, the increased proportion of aged persons in the Mississippi and in the U. S. population is due primarily to natality rather than to mortality.

86. "Aged Migration in the United States," Symposium at the thirty-first annual meeting of the Gerontological Society, Dallas, November 16-20, 1978; Albert Chevan and Lucy Rose Fisher, "Retirement and Interstate Migration," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, April, 1978.

87. Gladys K. Bowles, "Discussion for Symposium on Aged Migration in the U.S."

88. Ibid.

89. Mollie Orshansky, "The Aged Negro and His Income," Social Security Bulletin, 27 (1964), pp. 3-13.

90. R. E. Roberts, "Ethnic and Racial Differences in the Characteristics and Attitudes of the Aged in Selected Areas of Rural Louisiana (M.A. Thesis, Louisiana State University, Baton Route, Louisiana, 1964).

91. Mark Messer, "Race Differences in Selected Attitudal Dimensions of the Elderly," Gerontologist, 8 (1968), pp. 245-249; J. Jackson, "The Blacklands of Gerontology," Aging and Human Development, 2 (1971), pp. 156-172.

92. Monroe Lerner, "Mortality and Morbidity in the United States as Basic Indices of Health Needs," Annals

93. H. Sutton, "Sunbelt vs. Frostbelt: A Second Civil War," Saturday Review, 5 (April 15, 1978); USNWR, "America's 'Sunbelt' is Growing in People and Power," U.S. News and World Report, 80 (April 12, 1976); "Studies Diverge on the Sunbelt's Economic Lure," Nation's Cities, 16 (June, 1978); R.S. Morris, "The Northeast vs. the Sunbelt," Current (Jan., 1977), pp. 22-26; Gurney Breckenfrumph, "Business Loves the Sunbelt (and Vice Versa)," Fortune, 95 (June, 1977), p. 132; USNWR, "The Pork-Barrell War Between the States," U.S. News and World Report, 82 (Dec. 5, 1977), pp. 39-41; Charles D. Liner, "The Sun Belt Phenomenon: A Second War Between the States," Popular Government, 43 (Summer, 1977), pp. 16-18; J.P. Gannon, "Snowbelt Blitz," Wall Street Journal, 189 (January 17, 1977), p. 189; "...Governors Against Federal Aid Changes," Southern Growth Problems and Promise, 5 (Fall, 1977), pp. 1, 6; "South as Region Concerned about Punitive Actions," Southern Growth Problems..., 3 (Winter, 1976-1977), p. 3.

94. The out-movement of labor from the Delta early in the century appears to have been strongly opposed as subversive of the area economy. Out-migration of surplus agricultural labor was not universally regarded as detrimental after mechanization had progressed sufficiently to relive the Delta of much of the need for individual labor (which, apparently, for employees, was often family labor). Ruskin, *op. cit.*; Cohn, p. 346.

95. R.E. Wertheimer, *The Monetary Rewards of Migration Within the U.S.* (Washington: The Urban Institute, 1969).

96. Cohn, p. 341.

97. Daniel I. Price and Melanie M. Sikes, *Rural-Urban Migration Research in the United States* (Washington: USPGP, n.d); S.H. Masters, *A Study of Socioeconomic Mobility Among Urban Negroes* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ.) Final Report Submitted to the OEO, OEO Contract B99-4790, 1970; Richard F. Wertheimer, *Rural-to-Urban Migration: Implications for Government Policy* (Research Memorandum for the Office of Economic Opportunity, 1967); A.L. Bacon, "Migration, Poverty and the Rural South," *Social Forces*, 51 (March, 1973), pp. 348-355; Neal P. Ritchey, "Poverty Among Rural-Urban Migrants to Metropolitan Areas," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington, D.C. August 26-30, 1970; Gene P. Peterson and Laure Sharp, *Southern In-Migrants to Cleveland: Work and Social Adjustment of Recent In-Migrants Living in Low-Income Neighborhoods* (Washington: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1969).

98. Daniel O. Price, *Rural-Urban Migration: A Synthesis of Research Findings* (Austin, Texas: TRACOR, Inc., 1968), p. 58.

99. L. Bacon, "Poverty Among Inter-Regional Rural to Urban Migrants." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Washington (August 26-30, 1970).

100. Larry H. Long and K.Z. Hansen, "Trends in Return Migration to the South," *Demography*, 12 (November, 1975), pp. 601-614, "Interdivisional Primary, Return, and Repeat Migration." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Regional Demographic Group, New Orleans (November, 1976); R.R. Campbell, *et al.*, "Countersteam Migration of Black People to the South," *Review of Public Data Use*, 3 (No. 1) p. 15.

101. "Blacks' Return to South Alters Century-Old Trend," *Memphis Commercial Appeal* (April 11, 1977), p. 1.

102. Alvin Rose, quoted *Ibid*.

103. Ellen S. Bryant and Ella Keller, "Mississippi's Population Increases," *MAFES Research Highlights*, 40 (February, 1977), pp. 1-2.

104. A report by the Regional Economics Staff of the Tennessee Valley Authority reports 49,600 return migrants to Mississippi during 1955-1960 and 52,600 return migrants during 1965-1970. With 1,193,000 potential return migrants living in other states in 1970, "the possiblity of increasingly large return migration flows is very real." Regional Economics Staff, "Characteristics of Regional In-migrants 1965-1970" (TVA, Division of Navigation Development and Regional Studies, April, 1978), pp. 10, 14. There is a potential that this migration may increase proverty in the South as poor from the North may increasingly relocate Southward in search of shelter, protection and care, drifting to protective repositories nearer families, friends, or similarly affected others in the absence of social supports in their native environs.

105. Dwayne Walls, _The Chickenbone Special_ (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Yohanovich, 1970); Baynard Ruskin, "Fear in the Delta," in _Down The Line: The Collected Writings of Baynard Ruskin_ (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), pp. 62-80. Several community studies which indicated that migration of blacks out of the South was not due to segregation-discrimination-racial integrity norms and practices in the South, that is, due to push factors in areas of origin of migrants related to normative structures regarding race, are cited in Clarence Senior, "Movers, Migrants, and the National Interest," in J. W. Eaton (ed.), _Migration and Social Welfare_ (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1971).

106. "Blacks Move South Again," _New York Times_ (June 23, 1974).

107. Charles Evers and Grace Halsell, _Evers_ (New York: World Publ. Co., 1971), p. 123.

108. Billy J. Eatherly, "Mississippi: Movin' In, Movin' Out," _Mississippi Business Review_, XL (November, 1978), p. 17.

109. Dr. Max Williams, quoted in "State's Non-White Population Drops," Jackson (Ms) _Clarion-Ledger_ (November 12, 1971 , B9.

110. Larry H. Long, Interregional Migration of the Poor: Some Recent Changes," _Current Population Reports_, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 73 (November, 1978). For discussion of the welfare differences in migration, see Larry H. Long, "Poverty Status and Receipt of Welfare among Migrants and Nonmigrants in Large Cities," _American Sociological Review_, 39 (February, 1974), pp. 45-56; Larry H. Long and Kristin A. Hansen, "Trends in Return Migration to the South," _Demography_, 12 (November, 1975), pp. 601-614; "Selectivity of Black Return Migration to the South," _Rural Sociology_, 42 (Fall, 1977), pp. 317-331.

111. During 1970-1975 the number of black births (115,100) was 14% of the black population in 1970, while white births (125,200) during this period amounted to 9% of white population in 1975. This, combined with the smaller numbers of deaths of blacks (48,800) than of whites (74,200), resulted a greater natural increase for blacks (66,300 natural increase) than for whites (51,000 natural increase). The black natural increase 1970-1975 was twice as large a percentage of the 1970 black population (8%) there than was the white natural increase 1970-1975 as a proportion of the 1970 white population (4%). *Current Population Reports*, Special Studies P-26, No. 67 (February, 1978), pp. 11-15.

112. Glenn V. Fuguitt, "The Small Town in Rural America," *Journal of the Cooperative Extension Service* (Spring, 1965), pp. 19-26; "The Places Left Behind: Population Trends and Policy for Rural America," *Rural Sociology*, 36 (December, 1971), pp. 449-470; James P. Tarver and Calvin L. Beale, "Population Trends of Southern Nonmetropolitan Towns, 1950 to 1960," *Rural Sociology*, 33 (March, 1968), pp. 19-29; Peter B. Scott, "Trade Center Population Change, Centralization and Trade Area Farming Type," *Rural Sociology*, 33 (December, 1968), pp. 19-29; Glenn V. Fuguitt and Donald R. Field, "Some Population Characteristics of Villages Differentiated by Size, Location, and Growth." *Demography*, 9 (1972), pp. 295-308; Seal Folse and Dubwy W. Riffe, "Changing Patterns of Business Services in Illinois Rural Villages," *Illinois Agricultural Economics*, 9 (1969), pp. 26-32; D. Brown, *Socioeconomic Characteristics of Growing and Declining Nonmetropolitan Counties, 1970* (Washington: ERS, USDA, 1975).

113. Calvin L. Beale, *The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America* (Washington, EDD, ERS, USDA, ERS-605, 1976).

114. Diana DeAre, "Population Change in the South: 1970-74." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Region Demographic Group, New Orleans, October, 1976, p. 26.

115. *Ibid*.

116. John F. Long, "The Deconcentration of Nonmetropolitan Population." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Atlanta, April 13-15, 1978.

117. *Current Population Reports*, Series P-26, No. 76-24 (November, 1977).

118. Since only seven Mississippi counties were metropolitan counties in 1976, and the state was only 18% metropolitan in 1970 and 27% metro in 1976, the comparatively small size of Mississippi SMSA's does not gainsay the operation of the same variables

within the Mississippi population as in the national population without the Mississippi population following the same trends as found nationally regarding metro-nonmetro population patterns.

119. D. L. Poston and R. White, "Indigenous Labor Force Supply and Population Redistribution in Nonmetropolitan America: An Extension of the Ecological Theory of Migration" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Chicago, September, 1977), p. 2; Brown, "Spatial Aspects of Work Force Migration," p. 13.

120. William B. Clifford, *Recent Population Trends in North Carolina and the Southern Region: 1970-1975* (Raleigh, N.C.: AES, NCSU, 1977), p. 9; Thomas E. Till, "Industrialization and Poverty in Southern Nonmetropolitan Labor Markets," *Growth and Change* (January, 1974); John Crecink, *Rural Industrialization* (Washington: USDA, Ag. Ec. Rpt. 189, 1970); J.V. McElveen, *Rural Industrialization in the Southeast Coastal Plain* (Washington: USDA, Ag. Ec. Rpt. 174, 1970); E.C. Weitzell, *Planning for Rural Industry* (Washington: USDA RPT. PA-894, 1969; H. Aberlorn Wadsworth and Joseph Conrad, *Impact of New Industry on a Rural Community* (Lafayette, Ind.: Purdue Univ. AES Research Bulletin 881, 1966).

121. "Population Trends," Jackson (Ms.) *Clarion Ledger* (Feb. 10, 1978), p. 10A.

122. Gene F. Summers and Jean M. Lang, "Bringing Jobs to People: Does It Pay," *Small Town*, 7 (September, 1976), p. 8.

123. J.D. Williams and A. Sofranko, *Migration Motivations for Population Turnaround in Nonmetropolitan areas* (Urbanna, Il.: Dept. of Ag. Ec., Univ. of Illinois, 1978(, p. 6.

124. Gordon F. DeJong, "Residential Preferences and Migration," *Demography*, 14 (1977), pp. 169-178; DeJong and Ralph R. Sell, "Population Redistribution, Migration, and Residential Preferences," *Annals*, 429 (1977), pp. 130-144; James J. Zuiches and Glenn V. Fuguitt, "Residential Preferences and Mobility Expectations." Paper presented at joint session of the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association and the Rural Sociological Society, New York, 1976; Glenn V. Fuguitt and J. Zuiches, "Residential Preferences and Population Distribution," *Demography*, 12 (August, 1975); Edwin H. Carpenter, "Residential Preferences and Population Dispersal in Light of Proximity, Economics, and Migratory Potential." Paper presented at the 1976 meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, New York, 1976; Calvin L. Beale and Glenn V. Fuguitt, "The New Pattern of Nonmetropolitan Population Change" (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, CDS Working Paper 75-22).

125. Sidney Goldstein, "Facets of Redistribution," Demography, 13 (1976), pp. 423-434.

126. Michael Greenwood, "Research on Internal Migration in the United States," Journal of Economic Literature, 13 (1975), pp. 397-433.

127. Clarence Senior, "Movers, Migrants, and the National Interest, in J.W. Eaton (ed.), Migration and Social Welfare (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1971), p. 37.

128. Gordon DeJong and C.R. Humphrey, "Selected Characteristics of Metropolitan to nonmetropolitan Migrants," Rural Sociology, 41 (1977), pp. 526-538).

129. Calvin L. Beale, The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America (Washington: USDA, ERS-605, 1976), p. 13.

130. Ibid, p. 14.

131. Faulkinberry, "New Faces in the South," p. 19.

132. Gene F. Summers, Large Industry in a Rural Area: Demographic, Economic and Social Impacts (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, Cooperative Extension Programs, Dept. of Rural Sociology, Working Paper RID 73.19), p. 31.

133. Williams and Sofranko, Migration Motivations, p. 5.

134. Jackson Daily News (February 10, 1978), p. 10A.

135. Faulkinberry, op. cit. p. 19 CF.: John M. Wardwell, "Metropolitan Growth." Paper presented at the meeting of the population Association of America, Atlanta, April 13-15, 1978.

136. Long, "Deconcentration of Nonmetropolitan Population," p. 5.

137. Ibid, p. 6.

138. Ibid.

139. Clifford, Recent Population Trends in North Carolina and the Southern Region: 1970-1975 (Raleigh: Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology Progress Report Soc. 64, 1977), p. 9.

140. Retirement induced migration is not restricted to the elderly. For many people "retirement" means an optional departure from a career job into a pension system at a young age, many of whom "then move to a different place where they may or may not reenter the labor force." Beale, Revival of Population Growth, p. 10.

141. Jackson (Ms.) Daily News, op. cit.

142. The process seems to have been from state normal in the 1930s to state teachers college in the 1940s and 1950s to regional state college in the 1950s and 1960s to university in the 1970s.

143. Beale, Ibid.

144. Clifford, Recent Population Trends, P.10.

145. It is important to point out that per capita income level is less important than is income distribution. Furthermore, the high birth rate of the state contributes to its lower per capita income. Also, to what extent costs, expenses, charges, fees, and assessments are lower in Mississippi, lower wages are at least an equivalent trade-off. However, compansion of prices for certain consumer goods indicates that to be a resident of Mississippi is to incur higher prices for items as milk and gasoline than is incurred by their purchase in neighboring states. As a move towards reduction of living expenses in Mississippi, it might be desirable to establish a "nonuniform" property tax system based on local option as to the amount the populace wishes to be taxed to support local government expenditures.

146. Gaines Rodgers, "The Dean's Corner," Mississippi Business Review, 40 (December, 1978), p. 13.

147. Ibid.

148. The Agrarians were opposed to a "New South" in the form of an undistringuished replica of the usual industrial community. They felt that under industrial dominance labor as one of the happy functions of human life is abandoned, the sense of vocation is replaced by labor which is mercencry and servile, inequality in distribution is heightened, and welfare becomes dependent on the benevolence of capital. We have been taught," Andrew Lytle wrote in I'll Take My Stand, "by Jefferson's struggles with Hamilton, by Calhoun's with Webster, and in the woods at Shiloh or along the ravines of Fort Donelson where the long hunter's rifle spoke defiance to more accelerated Springfield, that the triumph of industry, commerce, trade, brings misfortune to those who live on the land." It was not that the Agrarians would dispense with industries or cities, but that the result of capitulation to the industrial faith was the suicide of cycles of maladjustment in infinite series without arriving at a specific goal. Industrial utility provided its own momentum and forced the whole thrust of society toward the self-serving task of keeping the machinery turning--producing, selling, consuming--progress in incessant flux and cycle. Among the Agrarian themes were the desirability of decentralization, widespread distribution of productive property, and strengthening of the organic agrarian nature of the South rather than adoption of the less democratic and

equalitarian "bankrupt, technological, and industrial civilization" of the north. See Frank L. Owsley, "The Pillars of Agrarianism," *American Review*, 4 (March, 1935), pp. 529-547, and M. E. Bradford, "What We Know for Certain: Frank Owsley and the Recovery of Southern History," *Sewanee Review*, 78 (October-December, 1970). For Owsley, "the central theme of Southern history was the South's efforts to defend herself against the degradations of northern industrial and financial interests... Behind all the attacks upon the South...were big business and high finance." Edward A. Shapiro, "Frank L. Owsley and the Defense of Southern Identity," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Spring, 1977), p. 82.

149. Rodgers, p. 12. This idiom of thought would seem to be reflective of that of "the Mississippi Economic Council... "blue ribbon committee of some of the leading citizens of the state..." *Ibid*, p. 11. One is entitled to wonder if this so-called "conservatism," which, presumably, is not necessarily promotive of unmitigated industrialization, is a reflection of the native interest of the populace.

150. Of course, there is some. The Agrarian movement of the 1930's reflected literary resistance, and some of its tenor continues because the challenges it confronted to community and existence remain real and even more direct in the present. However, the thrust of most official, promotional, and development activity is contra. Bradford, referencing "Organic or patriarchial societies operating inside a larger and more hostile political environment" (Unionist in the gnostic sense of hostility to ontologically and historically rooted distinctions), has observed that "The old northern doctrine of Union, in its final extension, meant death to /organic society dependent upon popular validation and a restricted view of the state and of federal power and/... kindred American communities. And industrialization, as we have practiced it, has been the cutting edge of Union...a union which is no communion because of its hostility to more than one idenity...compelled from without and finally cut off from the transcendent sources of all social order". Southerners, Bradford writes, "are...(thanks to 1865)--caught in the same net" of fundamental shifts involving prospects of a real shortage of food and staples, the problems with fuel, the likelihood that we all soon be subject to a small but angry landed interest of our great cities, the ruin of the 'paper money economy' as we have known it. The cognoscenti of Manhattan thunder about the corruptions of external nature in the same pages where reflexive abuse of the Agrarians once appeared. They doubt the very nostrums whose authority they helped to establish. They tremble. And thus, as is ever the case when an 'armed doctrine' is released, the circle turns upon itself."

Bradford adds: "Behaving in a fashion Southerners understand," New England states pass legislation to restrict unworked development." Melvin Bradford, "The Nashville Agrarians: Some Southern Thoughts at Dartmouth," The Occasional Review, 7 (Winter, 1977), pp. 49-50. Bradford also notes that the Agrarians, as "conservative democrats hostile (like their Distributionist English Allies) to social darwinism and the wider reaches of state - sponsored laissez-faire capitalism" and as men for whom "mass production and mass consumption could not provide a norm" and "money men and banks could not inspire their confidence," regarded atomistic or impersonal corporate business and the omnipotent state as two faces of the same phenomenon. The so-called "new emphasis on human values and enviornment," which Time (Sept. 27, 1976, p.31) recognized as "fore-shadowed by the south's agrarian romantics of the 1930's who... anticipated the 'greening-of-America'" is not new in the South.

151. While owners of fixed assets in the form of property and buildings and possessors, brokers, and accumulators of capital may benefit from an increased intensity of economic activity, considerable costs (which are the benefits to brokers of capital) may be imposed on other segments of society. One may suspicion that the benefactors of intensified economic activity have greater access to policy formation and expression channels, and are organizationally more adept at presenting their case and have a more direct interest in the positive adoption of policies desirable to them than are potentially opposing disparate interests.

152. Rodgers, "The Dean's Corner," p. 11.

153. Rodgers, "The Dean's Corner," p. 12.

154. Ibid.

155. Ibid,, p. 13

156. Ibid.

157. Summers and Lang, "Bringing Jobs to People," p. 7, 8.

158. Rodgers, "The Dean's Corner," p. 12; Jesse O. McKee," A Spatial Analysis of Manufacturing Employment in Mississippi," Southern Quarterly, 13 (October, 1974), pp. 18-20.

159. Rogers, op. cit., p. 12.

160. Ibid.

161. The item quoted does not specify the manner in which low wage industry extracts costs, i.e., whether this is in the form of the social class of persons employed, of their

psychological characteristics, or the expanded business they might represent for liquor stores and used car lots, nor exactly in what form the costs may occur. This author would not demur to the prinicpal that in-migration of "minimum wage type labor" would involve detrimental costs, but it is not quite clear why importation of labor of any wage scale would be valuable. The primary differential within a community between the working poor and the more affluent would seem to be in the level of economic activity as reflected in deposits, sales, and related commercial enterprise. Since to the extent public services in a community are financed by local tax revenues based on property taxes and local sales rather than income taxes, there would not appear to be a great differential in terms of area tax revenue. Facility and other costs extracted would appear to be as great on balance by an influx of high wage reciptents

162. Rodgers, op. cit., p. 12.

163. Ibid. One might caveat to the logic of this conclusion assuming the centers are to be tax supported.

164. It seems doubtful that women other than those who are largely marginal to the labor market would be enticed into the labor force by strapping their child care responsibilities on the back of other tax payers. Even if the enablement argument were a valid one for the push to establish day care centers--which at face value would appear to a rather obscure deflection of individual child care responsibilities onto the public--this claim would not appear to be logically consistent with itself when applied to other than minimum wage type labor since higher wage women, if interested in employment, would hardly be deterred by an absence of day care centers since they would currently provide day care services out of their earnings.

This does not mean that finding child care facilities (which is the responsibility of the family seeking facilities, not the responsibility of the public at large, the current drive to provide state kindergarten and baby sitting facilities to the contrary and notwithstanding) is not sometimes a problematic issue. It is one to which many church groups have addressed attention through the provision of institutional kindergarten and day care services, as have other private groups.

This observer attended one meeting concerned with child welfare issues in which a representative of the state department of welfare, who apparently was involved in the licenseing of private child care facilities, discussed some of the harassment activities of the welfare department. It appeared that the welfare department was invading private homes where children might be left for day care and was making determinations about nutrition practices, and perhaps other features, apparently, with the power to close them, though meeting an important demand.

165. Heightened economic activity does not necessarily mean area improvement in terms of income distribution.

166. Marshall R. Colberg, Human Capital in Southern Development (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 172.

167. Thomas E. Till, Rural Industrialization and Southern Rural Poverty in the 1960s: Patterns of Demand in Southern Nonmetropolitan Labor Markets and their Impact on Local Poverty (Austin: University of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources, 1972), p. 230.

168. E. Nolan Waller, "Mississippi Industry: Apparel Manufacturing, "Mississippi's Business, 34 (June, 1976), pp. 1-3, 6.

169. Till, Rural Industrialization.

170. Even agricultural production can become integrally enmeshed in the industrial mode wherein borrowing and lending institutions make themselves integral components of the agricultural industry, and "farmers" become businessmen with "investments" in agricultural enterprises. Illustrative is J. Adams, "The Great Food Link: Farmer and Banking," South 6 (January, 1979). Contrast with Sidney Lanier's vision that the "South means small farming...meat and bread for which there are no notes in the bank..."

171. The Agrarians proposed a model for man's relation to contingency "gathered in its practical aspect around the symbol and actual figure of the farmer..." Bradford, p. 51. Agrarianism, and the pluralistic tolerance and small-Republic of constitutional reason of Anglo-Saxon as opposed to Jacobin liberty, represented a struggle of agrarian society (epitomized by the South) against the industrial devourer; it was a reaffirmation of the humane tradition. The Agrarians felt a business or industrial civilization was a curse to the civil and emotive amenities of life. The right relations of man-to-man, and, for that matter, of man to himself, required the right relations of man to nature. The Agrarians felt that a society which would avoid alienation must, in John Crow Ransome's diction, "establish its roots somewhere in the shade of the trees," in a cultural pattern of "modest prosperity in comfortable institutions, and will the whole to generations which come after."

172. Thus it might be desirable policy to balance the emphasis on increasing incomes with the more salient one of reducing costs of living, including taxes.

173. Faulkinberry, "New Faces, " p. 20.

174. "Poverty, Inequities of Income Still Persist," Southern Growth Problems and Prospects.

175. Louis A. Ploch, "The Reversal in Migration Patterns--Some Rural Development Consequences." Paper presented at the 1977 meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, Madison, Wis., 1977, p.7.

176. Ibid., p.8.

177. Donald Sorenson, Reverse Migration and the Rural Community Development Problem (Corvallis, Or.: WRDC Discussion Paper No. 9, 1976).

178. Thomas and Batchel, "The Rural Turnaround," p.27.

179. Edith E. Graber, "Newcomers and Oldtimers," pp. 504-513.

180. R.R. Campbell and Daniel M. Johnson, "Propositions on Counterstream Migration," Rural Sociology, 41 (Spring, 1976), pp. 127-145.

181. Status groups "are defined by a common life style, which is more than a set of stylish characteristics which set a social tone and maintain boundaries between prestige groupings. Rather, a status group stands for a way of life: and such groups are consequently involved in constant struggles for control of the means of symbolic production through which their reality is constructed. Such struggles are the essence of politics." Ann L. Page and Donald A. Clelland, "The Kanawha County Textbook Controversy: A Study of the Politics of Life Style Concern, " Social Forces, 57 (September, 1978), p. 274.

182. Page and Clelland define "cultural fundamentalism" as a status group category supporting a way of life with "structural roots within the old entrepreneurial middle class, subsistence farming, and the 'secondary market' working class," but which cuts accross economic classes. Though more characteristic of persons/areas characterized by greater rurality, less formal education, and less wealth, economic-educational variables are not a satisfactory explanation. The strength of "cultural fundamentalism" in terms of claim to life style dominance has been "eroded by such master trends as urban heterogeneity, consumer-oriented affluence, and...rationalization in all spheres of life." pp. 275, 276.

183. Ploch, "Reversal in Migration Patterns," p. 4. The gist of this contrast has perhaps has been more aptly expressed by Page and Clelland as a contrast between the ideology of "authoritarian theocentrism" (with accoutrement respect for traditional conceptions of God and the Bible, decency in expression, and lawful and respectful but independent adherence to ordered freedom in decorum, liberty rather than

anarchy, moral responsibility rather than relativist immorality, familistic authority under a reign of ordered liberty rather than statism and atomization, ethnocentric as oppose to zenocentric, and comparitively little mesmerization with the life style of ilk characteristically described by Thomas J. Anderson as "pinks, punks, skunks, and homosexuals") and the ideology of secular humanism. Se Page and Clelland, "Life Style Politics," p. 226.

184. Page and Celland, p. 276. Ploch, drawing on a study of local boards, opines that "one of the first public bodies to which the in-migrants are attracted and to which the community 'permits' access is the local school board." "The Reversal in Migration Patterns," p. 4. This, of course, does not imply that all or even most in-migrants will represent opposite life style interests to those of longer term or native residents of an area. And it should also be recognized that "the forces which have led to the rise of alternative, counter-cultural life styles may be conducive to the resurgence of cultural fundamentalism as another alternative." Page and Celelland, p. 279.

185. The parameters of the enabling political structure are due partially to the centralization and professionalism which apportions a considerable amount of educational hegemony to state and federal requirements and to the policy dominance of "professional" educationists in which the ideology of secular humanism or of "cosmopolitanism" is a "life style which gains support from at least a large majority of the teachers and, especially, from the university-based elite of the educational profession (sic)." Page and Clelland, pp. 276-277.

186. Page and Clelland, p. 276. Since the politics of life style concern is politics involving the propagation of irrational goals and the means of their pursuit, a rational effort is made to control the symbolic systems which define reality. At the same time, the politics of life style concern often stresses symbolic issues in the sense of seizing on narrow issues which stand for a larger whole. Ibid., p. 266.

187. Ploch, "Reversal in Migration Patterns." p. 8.

188. Thomas and Batchel, "Rural Turnaround," p. 22.

189. E. Beck, et al, "Effects of Industrial Development on Heads Households," reprint from Growth and Change. n.d., p. 16.

190. E. B. Liner and Lawrence Lynch, The Economics of Southern Growth (Durham, N.C.: Seeman Printery, 1977), p. 87.

191. Ibid., p. 29.

192. David Berry, "Effects of Urbanization on Agricultural Activities," Growth and Change, 9 (July, 1978), p. 5. This would be another instance wherein those who do not have would be called on to aid those who do, and wherein small scale entry would be further burdened, and one which could be avoided entirely by sufficiently low taxation that the problem does not arise. This is not to say however, that the tax system should not be reoriented toward greater progressivity as holdings increase, or that generally confiscatory taxes should not be placed on underground hydrocarbon extraction, or highly punitive taxes placed property conveyances which retain mineral rights.

193. "Growth Isn't All The Sunbelt Got," Memphis (Tn.) Commercial Appeal (Jan. 5, 1979); "Increased Crime Accompanies Growth in South and West," New York Times (December 24, 1978).

194. J. R. Bernard, "Externalities from Urban Growth: The Case of Increased Storm Runoff and Flooding," Land Economics, 54 (August, 1978), p. 298.

195. "Southern Cities," Southern Exposure, 3 (1976), p. 17.

196. "State Heritage Threatened By Modern Age--Morris," Jackson (Ms.) Daily News, (October 6, 1978), p. 1.

197. A number of these studies are cited in Frank Clemente and Gene F. Summers, "Industrial Development and the Elderly: A Longitudinal Analysis," Journal of Gerontology, 28 (1973), pp. 479-483.

198. Ibid.

199. Summers and Lang, "Bringing Jobs to People," p. 11. Cf.: C. Smith, et al., "Economic Development: Panacea or Perplexity for Rural Areas," Rural Sociology, 36 (June, 1971), pp. 173-186.

200. William J. Serow, "The Potential Demographic Impact of Migration." Univ. of Virginia, The Colgate Parden Graduate School of Business Reprint No. DSR-74-07, p. 23.

201. Clifford, Recent Population Trends, p. 12.

CHAPTER SIX -- DISTRIBUTION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POOR

1. The methodology employed was: 1) Calculation of the percentage deviation from the state average, 1969, for each county; 2) Application of that percentage deviance to the 1975 state average to obtain estimated county proporations.

2. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 112 (June, 1978), p. 11.

3. This is not necessarily indicative of a weakness system. The large numbers of "working poor" may be an indication of the extent to which the economic system is able to provide subsistence employment for persons with marginal skills and qualifications. It is quite likely that in the absence of such interventive devices as minimum wage laws (whose effect is most cruel on women, blacks, the young and others marginal to the labor market) there would be less welfare bottom proverty. It is also likely, given the liberality of the poverty measurement, that more persons would be among the "working poor". It may well be that steps which would by serendipity increase the number of "working poor" would be among the most salient ones that could be taken toward allowing the market to channel persons into jobs which permit avoidance of welfare bottom poverty. Complementary to this, steps toward lowering of prices -- for cokes, food, prices paid to exploiters of plant and animal husbandry, prices for shoes, wash tubs, deoderants, educational tuition, and salaries and emoluments to military persons, postmen, etc. -- would be of particular benefit to the middle and low income population and the retired former workers whose security is being destroyed by the economic consequences of the political problem of inflation. Boetz has argued that the strategy of meeting a simultaneous falling off of business volume (depression) by price and wage maintenance policies is a "dog chasing its tail" as well as prime example of "the inexorable madness of the human race." Since we can only consume what we produce, and maintenance of the maximum level of production makes possible a maximum level of consumption, i.e., the highest possible standard of living, a cutting of prices (goods, materials, wages, salaries, rents) makes it possible for inventories to be cleared and goods to move into the hands of consumers. Maintenance of prices makes it impossible to interrupt the downward spiral of reduced volume, reduced employment, and further reduced volumn in a continuing spiral. Billy Boetz, "The Mad Depression Revisited," Intellect (January, 1976), p. 309. An illustrative example is that the 1978 increase in sugar prices simultaneously with a worldwide sugar glut. During the "outrageous levels the consumer faced in 1974-75" unrefined sugar sold for as much as 60¢ a lb. Overplanting as sugar growing enterprisers sought to take advantage of record high prices resulted in sufficiently supply to reduce costs to a reasonable $.06 per lb. in November, 1977. Also, the competition from imported sugar and low-cost corn sweeters helped in the achievement of a reasonable price level. Consequently, persons desirous and capable of profiting from the sugar growing industry irrespective of their willingness or ability to meet market competition turned to government -- the primary route for establishing privilege to the expense of the consumer -- and obtained price guarantees of $.13½ per lb. for raw sugar. "Sugar Prices -- Going up Again," Consumer News (Office of Consumer Affairs, DHEW), Vol. 8, May 1, 1978, p. 1.

While merchandisers raised the prices of consumer sugar products such as soft drinks, bakery goods, candy, and gum, allegedly because of the high sugar prices, for some reason manufacturers did not correspondingly reduce prices during the period of the 90% decrease in raw sugar prices. Perhaps illustrating "the inexorable madness of the human race," prices of these items reached even higher; by 1978 consumers were facing the spectre of the $.20 pack of gum, the $.25 popcicle, the $.20 do-nut , the $.30 cola.

When government unleashes inflation, the economic consequences become devastating to the public and eventually to the body politic. Meanwhile, the government itself benefits from the inflation fostered by its profilgacy, taxation, and deficit spending. It increases its take from stationary or declining real income of the public. Government obligations (such as social security, veterans benefits, congressional salaries, are paid in inflated dollars, often with automatic escalations for beneficiaries). Government receives increasing tax revenues from inflated prices, salaries, and costs even though the level-of-living of the taxpayer may stay the same or decrease. Government expands its operations and expressions of concern for the consumer; politicians express sympathy at the plight of the public, and search for scapegoats (i.e., the anchovie beds have moved, etc.). The public looks for relief at its visible symbol and manifestation of concerted action, the government. Government shows its concern by imposing price controls, the result of which is to make goods scarce. As goods become scarce, and consumers form queus to obtain necessaries which merchandisers had sought to entice consumers to purchase previously, alternative zones of supply develop. Consequently, the consumer faces the double spectre of shortages and high prices. Savings and pensions are destroyed. Fending for survival becomes a problematic task. As political, social, and economic rapacity are unloosed in rising tides of regulation, restraint, fear, scarcity, and turmoil, the chances for survival of a republican form of government are lowered. In such conditions, an accelerating move towards a totalitarian society may be inevitable and inexorable. The greater the independence of a family, society, or economy, the less will be the resultant breakdown, disorganization and anomie. The greater the interdependence and specialized division of labor and supply (and the dependence on complex systems of organization whose functioning is a necessity to feed the urban population; otherwise, questions such as where is the milk to be obtained, how will monetary transfers be accomplished, etc. become critical) the greater the potential for chaos. Most Americans are highly interdependent on the complex interrelated system of supply transportation and exchange whose functioning makes possible the glorious levels-of-living which have been comparative reality in this nation. With destruction of the monetary system by government refusal to do the thing necessary to halt the spiral (namely, cease deficit government spending -- admittedly itself a politically inexpedient act of somewhat devastating consequence to the government and those dependent on government benison--stop inflating the currency, drastically reduce taxes (thereby reducing government power), reduce political patronange in the form of veterans benefits and subsidies, guarantees, and robbing of the poor through price supports in agriculture, housing subsidies, etc.,and protection of trades and businesses from competition, and allow the market, the only mechanism capable of making what the unquestionably painful adjustment in least destructive fashion) inflation will become worse and worse.

4. Statement of Phyllis Robinson, Institute of Gerontology, Federal City College, beofre the Subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment, Economic Problems of Aging Women, (Washington: USPGO, 1975), p. 24.

5. There has been a conscious promotion and marketing of social security as "insurance" although the analogy is totally fallacious to whatever extent it implies the perquisites of acturial soundness required of legitimate or private insurance. Social security is "insurance" only by blatant perversion of the accepted meaning of the term as a mutual contractual arrangement wherein payments of enrollees are invested and the return on the investment provides a reserve from which payments are made when they become due. Social Security, by contrast is a grant by Congressional grace and not a contractual obligation, the bookkeeping device of individual "contributions" to the contrary and notwithstanding. There is no "social security trust fund" in any ligitimate sense of accumulated reserves to meet future obligations. The social security "contributions" extracted from workers and employers are commingled and spent as received for whatever purpose government may be spending. Social Security extractions amount to circa one-fourth of government revenues. These extractions are highly regressive. The so-called "investment" in "interest bearing I.O.U.'s of the U.S. government" is a financing mechanism analagous to an individual taking $5 from his right pocket, purchasing a box of cigars, writing an "interest bearing I.O.U." from himself to himself, placing that in his left pocket, and calling his left pocket a "trust fund." Social Security can meet its future obligations only because of government's tax extracting ability, that is, its promise that it will tax others to make the payments to those whose "contributions" are making payments to current recipients. As the ratio of recipients to workers increases, and as the effect of government's inflationary policies increases economic rapacity, opposition is likely to increase. One result may be an increased acceptability of euthanasia.

The above does not necessarily impeach the desirability of social security. Few who have a parent or mother-in-law receiving social security would like to see benefits stopped. Furthermore, private insurance investment in government bonds might be regarded as blue chip investments, and, in this sense, government might as well invest in itself. For a discussion of some of the ways social security is "by all odds the largest welfare-type program in America" and is one which "takes from the poor to give to the not-poor," see David

Friedman, The Machinery of Freedom: Guide to Radical Capitalism (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978), pp. 27-29. There is no hope for a person who pays social security untill normal retirement age to recoup the amount lifted by the government. Chamberlain writes:

> It is indeed shocking and distressing that in a country like the United States, where wage and salary levels are comparatively high, where no serious depression has been known for more than a generation, so many "senior citizens" have such low personal incomes. The reason is pretty obvious: the tremendous increase in the burden of taxation at all levels. Many of the indigent aged could take a pencil and paper and calculate accurately how many more opportunities for comfortable living, including ability to meet their medical bills, they would have enjoyed if so much of what they earned had not been siphoned off by federal, state, municipal, and other tax gatherers, to say nothing of the steadily increasing bite of the payments required to maintain some semblance of solvency for the social security system.

6. Mollie Orshansky, "Old Age and Income Assurance," in The Measure of Poverty, Technical Paper 1, Documentation of Background Information and Rationale for Current Poverty Matrix (Washington: DHEW, 1976), p. 221.

7. Mollie Orshansky, "Recounting the Poor - A Five Year View," Ibid, p. 89.

8. Michael K. Taussigo "Long-run Consequences of Income Maintenance," in K. Boulding and Partin Pfaffumph, Redistribution to the Rich and the Poor (Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth Pub. Co., 1972), p. 385.

9. B. Johnson, "Women who Head Families: A Socioeconomic Analysis," Special Labor Force Report 213, U. S. Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1978, p. 1. Other factors include the increased number of unmarried women adopting children or who manage to be serviced so as to reproducers themselves. Ibid, pp. 1-2. Blacks, whose culture has long been characterized by matriarchy, have a disproportionately high proportion of female headed families. As of March, 1977, one of every three black families had a female head, compared to one of nine white families. As of March, 1977, one of seven children in the U.S. were in fatherless families, compared to one in ten in 1970. Over a third of these children

were in families headed by black females. *Ibid*, pp. 1-5. Cf.: R. A. Farley and A. I. Hermalin, "Family Stability: A Comparison of Trends Between Blacks and Whites," *American Sociological Review*, 36 (February, 1970) pp. 1-17; C. V. Kiser, "Indicators of Recent Demographic Change Among Blacks," *Population Index*, 37 (July-September, 1971), pp. 169-179; R. Staples, "Public Policy and the Changing Status of Black Families," *Family Coordinator*, 22 (July, 1973), pp. 345-357.

10. Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington: USGPO, 1965).

11. Kathryn Ratcliff, "Broken Black Families: Some Analytical Dimensions Useful in Predicting Outcomes" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, Chicago, 1977); "Strengths of the Broken Family in Fostering Economic Attainment" (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, 1978).

12. Over 90% of the unrelated black females in Mississippi reported 1969 incomes below the poverty level. Irrespective of age, race, or sex, rural nonfarm related individuals generally had the highest rate of poverty of any residential category.

13. *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 112 (June, 1978), p. 179.

14. High birthrates by the poor have been said to represent "a vicious cycle of poverty and fertility." President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, *The People Left Behind* (Washington: USGPO, 1967), p. 75. While doubtless true, this would hardly seem to be a result of the factor to which it is frequently attributed, that of an alleged lack of opportunity to obtain birth control artifacts. On the basis of such causal reasoning, one might suspect any lower natality among the diseugenic strata could, with at least as much supportive reason, be attributed to lack of opportunity to copulate because of the serendipitous effects of poverty, or that the higher birth rate in rural areas is due to the absence of asphalt content in the roads. It might be suggested that the high fertility of the poor = need for artifact distribution programs reasoning is drawn largely from a "culture of poverty" theoretical rationale, and, one could presume, to whatever extent it might be based thereon, would suffer from whatever defects are characteristic of that theoretical perspective. This is not to suggest, however, that a reduction of surplus childbearing would not be beneficial or that many of the poor "regard the burden of numerous children with the same fatalism and dispair with which they

face extreme poverty." The People left Behind, p. 81. Cf.: J. Beasley, et al., "Attitudes and Knowledge Relevant to Family Planning Among New Orleans Negro Women," American Journal of Public Health, 56 (1966).

15. J. Allan Beegle, "Rural Fertility Differentials in the U.S. in 1960," pp. 375-363, and F. J. Jafee, "Family Planning and Rural Poverty and Approach to Programming of Services," in President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, Rural Poverty in the United States (Washington: USGPO, 1968), pp. 368-383.

16. Whelpton and associates found in a national survey that excess fertility (surplus births above those wanted or planned) was highest among nonwhites living on farms in the South. P. K. Whelpton, et al., Fertility and Future Population in the United States, (Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 242-248.

17. Robert A. Liston, The American Poor (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970), p. 47.

18. At the same time, it may be that what is dysfunctional for society in the form of high rates of reproduction may have a satisfaction maximizing function among many of the poor. It is generally agreed that children typically are not the economic assets as field hands or wage earners that they may have been in the past. Even so, there may be strong incentives toward high rates of reproduction, including sex role definations, muchismo, and other factors which, coupled with the absence of an ability to defer gratification, factor into differential fertility rates.

Rainwater concluded on the basis of his study of contraception among the poor that the poor know about contraceptive techniques; they prefer not to use them. Lee Rainwater, And the Poor Get Children: Sex, Contraception and Family Planning in the Working Class (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1960). Coles has written that having large numbers of children fulfills basic psychological needs of the poor as one of the few available sources of gratification. Robert Coles, Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear, (Boston: Little Brown, 1967).

19. Sar A. Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1970's, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University, Press, 1973), p. 88. Certainly fertility is excess among persons unequipped emotionally, economically, or in terms of appropriate placement in the maturation cycle. Rothman has pointed out that by the 1970s few citizens equated "the moral tone of the nation with the sexual activities of its citizens" and the view that "it certainly seems better to risk (sic) increasing sexual freedom (sic) among the poor by removing the fear (sic) of pregnancy than to deplete our natural

resources" had overcome what she describes as the "traditional fear of sexual license that to give the poor contraceptive devices would encourage their promiscuity." It is difficult to fault the policy merit of the perspective which Rothman attributes to "family planning professionals" that "effective contraception is an answer to the plight of the poor" or the "indication that clinic physicians will increase their reliance upon sterilization" as steps toward "saving us from ecological disaster." However, as Rothman documents, studies of contraceptive practice among the poor indicate that their larger family sizes are distinict matters of choice, and not of ignorance of contraceptive devices of lack of access thereto. See Shelia M. Rothman, "Sterilizing the Poor," Society, 14 (Jan.-Feb., 1977) pp. 36-40.

Even so, Brown has challenged the money saving reasoning with substantive caveat with his observation that "one rather macabre development in health care is the recurring tendency, in the abortion discussion, to bring up cost-reductions that this procedure achieves by reducing welfare and other costs. The implications of this line of thought are evident. In view of the policies already in effect requiring the government to provide public assistance to the old and the infirm, it is probably only a matter of time until the various proposals for legalization of euthanasia start to be promoted on the grounds that they will save society money. Of course they will. People are expensive." Harold O. J. Brown, The Reconstruction of the Republic (New Rochelle, N. Y.: Arlington House, 1977), p. 131.

20. No provision is made here for a thought out statement regarding the role of so-called "family planning clinics," which seems a throughly absurd euphemism for those portions of any program which function as distributing centers for copulatory artifacts for the unmarried and adolescent populations. "Family planning" information to families would seem to be a legitimate public function. Similarly, it might be wise to give a reconsideration to the policies which subsidize larger families, such as food stamps, public education, and other programs which pay a premium in public emoluments for larger family size. Whatever their benefits otherwise, they would not seem to discourage overpopulation among individual families. Furthermore, it may be that allegedly morally neutral "family planning" education among adolescents is a contributing factor to the likelihood of pre-marital parenthood. The view, as the author heard one advocate of "family planning" at the junior high level express it, is not to discourage sexual achievement, but to teach precaution in the process of effectuating adolescent fantasy by adult role behavior. Without question, if there is to be activity, caution is advisable. There is absolutely no merit to any

scienter of suggestion that would maximize the likelihood of pregnancy as preventive or recrimination for moral violations. However, this liberality does not suggest the state should play an encouraging, enticing, or otherwise promotive role for the acting out of adolescent fantasy with preroggatives of adult behavior among persons who are not equipped to carry out adult responsibility. Movies and other media seem to enshrine wanton sexuality as birthright if not as duty. If the state uses the education system to popularize sexual activity, and offers encouragement in the form of so-called "family planning" aids and artifacts, the line between informative "health education" and promotion, enticement, recruitment, and channeling of behavior in the direction of sexual acting-out would seem to have been crossed sufficiently to mitigate any claim to morally neutral instruction. Proponents of subsidized sexuality seem (or so one may get the impression) to be repelled by any scienter of teaching of morals, i.e., any viewpoint which may be drawn from an etiology which recognizes traditional moral proscriptions as having some degree of situational if not blanketing validity. However, when a program based on a philosophy which in effect, speaks "if you do it, do it with precaution, and here is a supply of precautionary aids provided for your convenience, assistance, and encouragement", is teaching specific moral content, namely, hedonistic morality. It may be that one result of "family planning" is increased sexuality reflected in increased teeny-bopper pregnancies. Then too, as Holbeid has suggested, increased use of contraceptives "among the eugenically disinclined strata of the population" may not provide a more optimistic indication of socially desirable reproductive behavior "anymore than an increasing number of drivers indicates an increasing level of automotive safety." Irwin J. Holbeid, "The Missing Category," National Review, 29 (March 11, 1977), p. 238.

Blake, who feels a "policy of poverty-oriented birth control program does not make sense as a policy measure, "has questioned federal programs of population limitation through birth control programs for the poor." Judith Blake, "Population Policy for America: Is the Government Being Mislead?" Science, 164 (May, 1969), pp. 522-529.

21. Possibly at least partially as a result of a decreased income of some "retired" persons, and the lower income of families who have recently entered the employment market and may as yet corral comparatively lower incomes. However, even the families with no related children had a whopping average income in 1975 of nearly $12,000! The mean income says nothing about distribution (merely dividing total income by total recipients; a $12,000 average among two families could be distributed along a scale of from $12,000 each to nothing for one and $24,000 for the other). The median

income (point which divides the distribution in half) is considerably lower than the mean income ($8,852 compared with $11,967) for Mississippi families with no related children. Families with no related children under age 18 show the most divergence between these comparative measures of central tendency of all Mississippi families when those with no related children under 18 and those with one, two, three, or four or more children age 5-17 are compared.

22. Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 112, p. 175.

23. Ibid.

24. There were 8,000 families each of six or more persons in the income brackets $4,000-$5,999, $8,000-$9,999, $15,000-$19,999, and $20,000 plus. The total range in number of six persons families across the income categories was 3,000 persons. In other words, whatever the income category, there was almost the same number of families of six or more persons.

25. Henry George suggested that higher standards of living result in decreased birth rates because the more one is removed from animalistic standards of behavior the less one's behavior is characteristic of animals. One's level-of-living, and perhaps the economic, social, and psychological competence it reflects, does seem to be related to tendencies toward rational reproductive behavior, i.e., not overproducing beyond's competence to provide care at a minimum (barring medical difficulties or other unforeseen consequences which could not be reasonably anticipated). This competence rules out support by public maternity charity, food stamps, WIC, medicaid, etc. What is "rational" from the standpoint of one observer or vantage point may not be satisfaction maximizing for the perpetuator who may positively desire additional offspring for whatever reason and may perceive little cause for restraint in terms of self-sacrifice for the repetitive exercise of reproductive license. Consideration of the extent to which reproductive license may be perceived as functional by perpetuators is not within the scope of this statement, nor is any caveat thereto in terms of the incidence of child abuse or neglect. Though perhaps an erronous perception, there does appear to be a distinct social prejudice (seemingly accruing from academic types, members of the social work vocation, and those who "making it" with governmental social service delivery and advocacy agencies) against recognition of the bottom line responsibility of perpetuators not to discharge WIC, medicaid, food stamps, public health, education, public housing, etc. responsibilities onto the public. The people to whom these responsibilities are being thrust upon are themselves real people who might

themselves desire more children, but are prevented from expressing their desire therefor because they cannot support them adequately to their satisfaction, and exercise self-restraint accordingly. Perhaps it is an injustice to suggest that welfare beneficiaries do not have rights of "entitlement" to as may offspring as they have inclination and/or circumstance to drop. However, to this observer, it is an injustice to those who do exercise responsiable restraint to provide privileges for those who do not do so at the sacrifice of the former; that it is not the recipient of services who is victimized by "society", rather it is the person of responsibility, restraint, and sacrifice, irrespective of race, color, creed, source of national origin or ancestral conditions of servitude; and that explanation for, rationalization, exhonneration, legitimation or exculpability of behavior because of social, cultural, or economic status is categorically and unequivocably unsatisfactory excuse or justification; to the contrary they are perceived as recommendations for the necessity for the exercise of restraint and civilally reasonable behavior by welfare recipients of the forms enumerated irrespective of whether it maximizes present or in futuro satisfaction of perpetuators, and suggests that social supports and encouragements for the perpetuation of diseugenically enclined strata should be withdrawn wherever humanitarianistically and technically possible. The applicability of social if not of individual morality is suggested (perceived "social work" bias thereagainst notwithstanding). It is one thing where say, a family of six becomes dependent on eleemosynary tolerance in the form of food stamps, medicaid, ADC, because of death, illness, or some unforesable unpredictable circumstance. It is quite a different thing wherein a person and/or persons already incompetent to escape welfare explicitly produce additional recipients of such services. "Poverty" is not exculpable cause, nor is the "system", nor "exploitation," nor are "we all guilty" in any connotation of society at large except to whatever extent institutionalized norms may be incentive or reinforcement for achievement of social immorality (which, as opposed to personal morality in behavior, may be defined for the immediate reference as the positive act of perpetuating behavior which assures initiatory claims in the form of welfare dependency) through inculculation of notions of "entitlement" among the public and/or recipients or through removal of impediments or disincentives to the implementation of social immorality (whether these be criminal penalties, standards of individual social morality, etc.), or through provision of a rewards system for perpetuation. The position expressed here is that humanistic social morality must condemn welfare dependency perpetuating behavior of the form herein discussed, any question of personal morality aside and notwithstanding. Social welfare in any sense of support for the ill, physically handicaped, organically mentally/emotionally/developmentally impaired, the aged, widowed, etc. is neither limited, prejoratively circumscribed nor in any way indicted by any aspect of this statement. Nor does this observer suggest capability of input into the logistics of dismantling whatever system of entouragement and support that may be built into the variegated welfare system without affecting welfare children, although strategies for dealing with the issue of not "harming" the innocent by reprisals against perpetuaters would seem to flow from a more definitive conceptualization of social morality. It may be that a discovery of responsibility whether or not it hampers license of expression, is an ingredient needed by the social fabric as a component of "health education" far more than is "family planning" to "sexually active" teenagers.

26. Larger family size (whether two or less) than can be supported by the parents unsustained by welfare claims apart from physical or mental impairment of the offspring.

27. Which cannot be said for any production by a person/family already receiving medicaid, food stamps, public welfare, etc.

28. This truism needs to be recognized even though an individual might not demonstrate excessive fertility if that particular individual were in a more enviable economic position, i.e., the sacrifices would outweigh the rewards and the individual would have greater incentive to weigh the consequences of conduct in terms of personal cost and sacrifice. "Poverty" does not exculpate, cause, nor excuse reproductive license (i.e., production of more offspring than can be cared for without direct and recognized public welfare aid in the form of food stamps, eleemosynary delivery, WIC, etc. apart from illness, injury, or organic malfunction). That persons are "poor" (if "poverty" is defined so as to require public welfare in the process of reproduction through WIC, etc.) is not a justifying reason to be reproductively active. "Poverty" does not morally exempt progenitors from the obligation to restrain preferences for productivity any more than it does lower-middle class persons (say, persons of less than $20,000 non-retirement non-farm ownership income who are not federally privileged in employment, on an economic scale) who must exercise such discretion. In a practical sense additional offspring may cost less to persons who are not self supportive than to those who are.

Whether "poverty" persons (in the form of recipients of welfare) have a duty to themselves not to be progenitally proclive is perhaps debatable, and, in the absence of carriers of disease, hereditary illness, or genetic motation, is a matter to be resolved by such families themselves as long as additional offspring cannot reasonably be anticipated to constitute a new welfare claim at the time of or during the process of arrival. Ultimately, resolution of this question, for non-claimants to public welfare is not anyone else's immediate business (though one may recognize an inherent social cost of overpopulation and related externalities). Welfare costs due to illness, injury, or death afterward is an issue of entirely different quality.

29. C.S. Johnson, Adolescent Pregnancy - Intervention and the Poverty Cycle (Athens: University of Georgia, Regional Institute of Social Welfare, 1971). In 1975 there were nearly 12,000 births to Mississippi females age 15-19. This was an higher percentage of total births (27%) than the U. S. percentage (19%), and was the highest for any state. The fertility rate (births to women 15-19 per 1,000 women 15-19) was higher in Mississippi in 1975 (96) than in the U.S. (57) or any other state. Nearly one-half (48.4%) of the births to Mississippi conceivors age 15-19 were out-of-wedlock births. Data are not available on the proportion that were out-of-wedlock conceptions. Over one-half (54%) of the total out-of-wedlock births in Mississippi in 1975 were achieved by children age 15-19. Alan Guttmacher Institute, Contraceptive Services for Adolescents: United States, Each State and County, 1975 (Washington: Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1978), pp. 30, 37, 41, 46. The National Inventory of Family Planning Services: 1975 Survey Results (DHEW Publication No. PHS 78-1814, 1978) reported 175 medical "family planning" sites in Mississippi servicing nearly 200,000 customers, and 70 non-medical sites. This number represented those responding to the National Inventory survey, and not necessarily the total number of providers. Pp. 10, 13, 15, 19. The Gutmacher Institute report on contraceptive "services" for adolescents reported 201 distribution sites of copulatory aids and artifacts in Mississippi in 1975. The service clientele was 71% white, 29% black and included approximately one-third of the "women age 15-19 at risk of unintended pregnancy." According to the Gutmacher Institute report, only one county (Issaquena) in Mississippi was free of an "organized clinic program" to serve women age 15-19. The report claimed a "need" for abortion in Mississippi in 1975 totalling some 6,550 contracts on children conceived by "women age 15-19", of which only 100 reported contracts were let. For some reason, "Family planning" remains the euphemism for programs serving teeny-boppers as well as and/or rather than families. According to the Gutmacher Institute report, "sexually active teenagers ...will need an expanded organized clinic program in order to have adequate access to contraceptive services." Such a statement of "need" would seem to be superflous for any community possessing either a bus station or drug store from which "sexually active" teens are not banned. Nevertheless, the

Gutmacher Institute reports recommends a "national effort" which requires "systematic mechanisms for providing sexually active young people with honest education and basic preventive services." Perhaps it is ironic that some of the "family planning" appears to be expeditiously furthered under laws which promote atomization of adolescents from familial ties wherein so-called "family planning" can more feasibly attain its goals as distribution centers of aids and encouragements for hedonistic behavior and "back up abortion services" to nonfamilies.

This irony appears highlighted where state laws have affirmed a legal right of minor adolescents "to consent to their own contraceptive care" (i.e., taking the behavior necessary for an "unintended pregnancy" out of the oversight of the family in which the adolescent is a member). Whether or not it is desirable policy, this is atomization; it is not familial in nature. To whatever extent a legal provision or programmatic thrust is atomistic in effect (i.e., adolescent as autonomous from the family of socialization) it is anti-family. Maybe what is suggested is a "truth in designation" approach to programs for nonfamilies.

There was a time when the busy-bodied intensity of the state was such that social workers were prevented from engaging in "family planning" assistance to families (not to mention non-families) largely as a result of a certain religious group being able to write its notions of morality into public policy as to the duties encumbent on persons to reproduce, and its willingness to and success in utilizing the state to compell the consequences of its notions of proper behavior on the public as well as to its own adherees. The state, experience might suggest, has an insatietable tendency to meddle. Possibly the greatest task facing free government today is that of helping supposedly self-limiting government stay self-limited. It is too easy for any particular legislator to translate his convictions or preferances on behavior into announced public policy, irrespective of how tenuous, such policy may be in terms of any legitimate role of a self-limiting state (for discussion of the form or basis for the self-limiting state, see Francis Schaeffer, How Should We Then Live, (Grand Rapids: Flemming H. Revell, 1974), particularly when such proscription is supported by powerful social norms of a religious ecclesia. Efforts to prevent the use of contraceptives (which is not any business of the state) were, like the state distribution of aids and artifacts to teenage children (not a legitimate role of the state, and certainly not a constitutionally permissible exercise of federal hegemony) are based on a statist assumption of what a state, in its pride and hubris, may decree as desirable policy. That the state should be permitted to assume a "responsibility" for distribution of copulatory artifacts, even to the point of atomizing the family through adoption of "policies that affirm the right (sic) of younger teenagers to consent to their own contraceptive care" (as phased by the Guttmacher Institute report) and thereby promoting sexual activism of unemancipated adolescents for whom parents are legally and morally responsible) may be an indication that the state has lost its sense of propriety as to its proper range of function. It may be that the following components of Guttmacher report should be read in concert.

> In 1976, 35 percent of all never-married women age 15-19 had intercourse, an increase of nearly 30 percent since 1971. The greatest increases in sexual activity over the five-year period occured among 17-year-olds (54 percent since 1971) and among 15-year-olds (up 30 percent), p. 28
>
> Enormous strides have been made in recent years in the delivery of contraceptive services to adolescents ...there is no reason to believe that the program could not expand rapidly to encompass at least twice the current number of teenage patients (sic) ...As teenage sexual activity continues to increase, the results of negligence or apathy *in expanding contraceptive services* (sic) will be manifested rapidly and dramatically be increases in unintended pregnancies. Pp. 19, 20. (Italics added.)

Alan Guttmacher Institute, *Contraceptive Services for Adolescents: United States, Each State and County, 1975* (New York: Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1978).

30. Physicians according to the context; physicians, having been admitted to doctoral status, are now entitled to such courtesy designation, however it is never correctly applied when referencing "physicians" as a group since such designation bears no relation whatever to a hospital related vocation.

31. Perry E. Gresham, "Liberty for Older Americans," *Freeman*, 28 (October, 1978), pp. 603-604.

32. S. Curtin, *Nobody Ever Died of Old Age* (Boston: Little Brown Co., 1973), p. 15.

> In addition to fears generated by social policy, the aged have great fear of progressive physical and mental deterioration. To be old means being trapped in brittle bodies that respond rustily to the commands of a tired brain; it means having a memory that turns on and off like a neon sign. Every passing day increases

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> the chances of illness or disability. To be old and ill is the worst of all. It is a time of no tomorrows, a time of no hope. Death lurks like a mugger in a dark alley. The elderly await the inevitable, when they are reduced to the simple act of breathing and eating -- and less.

Too Old Too Sick Too Bad: Nursing Homes in America (Germantown: Aspen Systems Corporation, 1977), p. 9.

33. As Chen has pointed out, the measurement of poverty in terms of a dollar income figure tends to distort the economic status of the aged in terms of poverty as an inability to satisfy needs. If asset value as well as money income is taken into consideration, the economic circumstances of aged units, in terms of incidence of poverty, is markedly altered. When the aged are considered poor in accordance with a fixed income level some of them should not be so considered because their consumption requirements tend to decline with age. When the aged are considered poor according to a flexible income measure (i.e., family size, geographical locality) some among them are relatively well off on a reduced dollar income. Y.P. Chen, "Economic Poverty: The Special Case of the Aged," Gerontologist 6 (1966), pp. 39-45; Cf.: J. Murray, "Potential Income from Assets," Social Security Bulletin, 27 (1964), pp. 3-11; J.N. Morgan, "Measuring the Economic Status of the Aged," International Economic Review, 6 (1965), pp. 1-17.

34. It may be noted that a generational phenomenon is involved in the sense that younger inheritors who make a wise choice of their progenitors are also benefitted by the fortuitious circumstances of an opportunity structure to themselves acquire such resources at young ages.

35. Maurice B. Hamovich and James E. Peterson, "Housing Needs and Satisfactions of the Elderly," Gerontologist, 9 (1969), pp. 30-32. A crystallizing of the opportunity structure may be seen in the fact that contemporary individuals of a relatively higher economic status are unable to purchase property that current aged owners were able to purchase though having somewhat inferior actual or even relative dollar incomes, thus freezing out the former from opportunities to which the aged had access. This is not the place for discussion of the interface or factors which have been responsible. But it might be noted briefly that a high percentage of elderly landowners draw rental income from property in addition to "soil bank" emoluments among rural owners and that only a minute portion of land released by retiring farm operators is available to beginning farmers

(John Schmidhauser, "The Political Influence of the Aged," Gerontologist 8, 1968, p. 453) and that the average national increase in the price of farm land during the year ending in March, 1972, was 8 percent (L.A. Parcher, "The Farm Real Estate Market," Oklahoma Current Farm Economics 45 (2/3, 1972), p. 26). Cf: "Long Time Residents in their Own Homes," Older Nebraskan's Voice (Fall, 1978), p. 9.

36. Hale N. Tongren, cited in U.S. News and World Report (May 24, 1971).

37. Even the savings by younger families might be somewhat misleading in that such savings may represent under-the-bottom rather than off-the-top savings wherein the savings are required in order to accumulate a base from which to be able to go into debt.

38. In 1975, families with a head 65 years of age or beyond reported median incomes of $8,057, a 7.4% increase over 1974. This amount was just about cancelled out by raging inflation. Families headed by persons in so-called prime working years (age 25-64) had an increase ($800) that was 145% of the increase reported in families with an aged head; however, after adjusting for inflation, the median income for families age 25-64 actually declined by 3% or nearly $500. The principal cause in the relative "improvement" of the income situation for elderly families contrasted with younger families has been attributed to the increase in social security transfers taken from the working population. In late 1974 and early 1975 welfare redistributions in the form of "social security" were escalated by 11% over previous levels and were increased an additional 8% in June 1975. Between 1974 and 1975 the median income of earning workers increased by 7%, some two points less than the rise in overall price levels. Donald G. Fowles, "Income and Poverty Among the Elderly: 1975, Statistical Reports on Older Americans (Washington: HEW, OHD, AoA, April, 1977).

39. United States Senate Special Committee on Aging, Action on Aging Legislation (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), p. 10. The following statement by a retiree attempting to survive on social security is illustrative:

> ...from this (social security) we have to pay real estate taxes, water, gas, and fuel oil. After these items have been taken care of we eat from the meager amount remaining. We cannot afford three full meals each day so we manage on one good meal. The prices of meat are outrageous and to have a roast or steak once a week is beyond our reach.

Ibid, p. 3.

40. See Richard Lemon, The Troubled American (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), or the comments pp. 393-396 of Lionel Lokos, The New Racism (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1971).

41. On the other hand, pressure for assistance to the aging may come largely from the working aged children who wish to deflect the costs of caring for progenitors onto the public, a very understandable sentiment even if, perhaps, illustrative of the adage that "one mother can take care of ten children, but ten children cannot take care of one mother." For discussion of the efficacy of efforts to ameliorate the economic straits of the aged via the tax system, see Y.F. Chen, "Income Tax Exemptions for the Aged as a Policy Instrument," National Tax Journal, 16 (1963), pp. 325-336; "Low Income, Early Retirement, and Tax Policy," Gerontologist, 6 (1966), pp. 35-38.

42. Action on Aging Legislation, p. 3.

43. It is in such context that Erich Fromm's "there is a great danger that the aged might become super-consumers" whose greatest problem is how to kill time painlessly takes form. Calvin Trillen, "Wake Up and Live," The New Yorker (April 4, 1964); U.S. News and World Report (May 24, 1971): "Retirement Housing, House and Home (April, 1963); "Widening World of Retirement Towns" Life (December 8, 1963); "The Retirement City," Newsweek (August 3, 1963).

44. Only two other states (Georgia 31.9% and Florida, 31.6%) had as many as 30% elderly poor, and only four other states had as many as 25% poor among their elderly population. These were: Louisiana (29.3%); Arkansas (29.1%); South Carolina (26.8%); Tennessee (26.0%). National Clearinghouse on Aging, Statistical Notes, 2 (August, 1978), p. 15.

45. Other states were: Georgia (-7.9%); Florida (-17.8%); New Mexico (-23.3%); North Carolina (-23.2%). Ibid, p. 11.

46. Under 125%: Florida (42.8%); Georgia (42.6%); North Carolina (40.2%); Louisiana (42.4%; New Mexico (40.0%). Under 150%: Florida (53.2%); Georgia (53.0%). Ibid, p. 15.

47. Maurice MacDonald, "Adjustment of the Poverty Measure Based on Estimates of the Food Stamp Subsidy," Unpublished paper, cited in Janice Peskin, The Measure of Poverty, Technical Paper VII, "In-kind Income and the Measure of Poverty," U.S. Dept. of HEW, Poverty Studies Task Force, p. 58.

48. For example, consult U. S. House of Representatives Report No. 94-1460, Food Stamp Act of 1976, pp. 633-747.

49. M.G. Arnold and G. Rosenbaum, *The Crime of Poverty* (Skokie, Illinois: National Textbook Co., 1973), pp. 26-27).

50. Ben Wattenberg, *No Blues for the Southland: An Objective View of the Data on Regional Growth and Prosperity* (Birmingham: *Southern Living* Promotion Department), p. 24.

51. Daniel P. Moynihan, *The Politics of a Guaranteed Income* (New York: Random House, 1973), p. 117; Gilbert Steiner, *The State of Welfare* (Washington: Brookings Institute, 1971), p. 193.

52. Kenneth Clarkson, *Food Stamps and Nutrition* (Washington: American Enterprise Institute, 1975), p. 50.

53. The Food Stamp program in general seems to have proved particularly popular with Mississippi retail and wholesale grocers and, as measured by the increase in participants from 191,000 recipient benefactors in 1969 to 390,000 in 1975, and by an increased coupon value from $29.5 million in 1969 to $162.6 million. It might be desirable to instigate a program wherein all food stamp purchases, including those by the young, healthy, and automobile possessing, are obtained from cooperative buying clubs or government distribution centers. Among the possible benefits are 1) increasing the real purchasing power of food dollars; 2) reducing cupidity of the laboring population, anxious about the price of potatoe logs, tuna, and yogurt, dodging the well filled baskets of choice cuts and selections by apparently healthy and often young food stamp beneficiaries; 3) reduce the subsidation to food merchants and brokers through food stamps; 4) conform to principle that government expenditures should be allocated to minimize profiteering by businessmen. This latter principle is not an argument for expanded government as such; it is an argument against government support of the national or local elite who have the ability to profit from government efforts to assist the needy as landlords, builders, developers, or as related operators. It does suggest that if government is to finance apartment rentals for those governmentally favored by "low" or "moderate" reported incomes wherein a free-enterprising owner is the beneficiary,that the buildings simply be *built and owned by government*, and leave out the profits to local gentry, politicians, brokers, or community influentials "making it" by the serendipitous benison of positive government, in the form of, for example, rental subsidy. In the case of food stamps, since recipients *are* recipients who have requested support at the benefit of taxpayers, many of whom may be little better off than recipient beneficiaries, perhaps the kindest thing that could be done would be to completely eliminate the subsidation of food merchants and provide a commodity program of staple

foods. Presumably, the purpose of the food stamp program is to provide food to governmentally favored categories of persons including the genuinely needy, aged, handicapped, or ill, and, apparently, strikers, college students, etc. For the purpose of providing food via a charity system to those morally and/or legally entitled to make "anti-hunger" claims against the public, a commodity system is adequate if not superior; if the purpose is to subsidize merchants, foster the support of the grocery industry for welfare expansion, or to serve as a visible symbol of beneficence to governmentally favored categories and reminding the working strata that while their earnings may not bring them full grocery baskets, they do promote fuller baskets to others at higher shelf and administrative costs, the food stamp program is fully superior and desirable. A 1978 GAO report of the food stamp program, pointing out the dozen plus federal domestic programs run either by the USDA or HEW such as food stamps, school lunch, school breakfast, special milk, childcare food, summer food, special supplemental food for women, infants, and children, Head Start, elderly feeding, and food distribution and others, found:

1) There are so many overlapping programs that a low-income family could wind up with more consumption opportunity than working or middle-income families (i.e., William Graham Sumner's "forgotten man").

2) In several of the programs beneficiaries could receive benefits equal to 230% of the amount needed to buy a USDA diet designed to meet all nutritional requirements.

3) Little program coordination exists at the local level for removing ineligibles from program rolls.

Recommendations included coordination of income verification procedures and assets tests and program consolidation through Congressional adoption of an explicit national policy on how much food needy and/or other recipient families should receive from the federal government. There is no constitutional basis for a federal food program except to federal territories. However, "These programs have helped many people obtain more adequate diets, and the Federal Government's responsibility to provide such assistance is generally recognized and accepted, "according to the GAO report. See Federal Domestic Food Assistance Programs -- A Time for Assessment and Change (Washington: GAO, June 13, 1978). The Community Service Administration reportedly cautioned that in "reducing duplication, great care must be taken to avoid reducing the total level of nutrition to poor people." Economic Opportunity Report (June 26, 1978), p. 9. A caveat to the CSA fear of the introduction of more responsible procedures and operational policies is that benefits equal to 230% of the amount by which a laboring family could purchase a diet designed to meet all nutritional requirements because in practice "special milk" overlaps with "free or reduced-price meals" which overlap with "food stamps" which overlap Aid to Dependent Children and Supplemental Income, is indefensible administration unless it is the intent of Congress to promote a multifaceted array of program benefits which is largely unfathomable as to its distributive effect. If such policy is intentional, it is indefensible for government to distort the public concensus of justice and appropriateness by reallocation procedures providing 230% of the amount needed to purchase a USDA diet designed to meet all nutritional requirements. There can be little claim such reallocation is justified by any clain to a nutritionally adequate diet. The public seems to be totally without "advocacy" in the nutritional assistance to the poor issues. A public advocacy position might be, "in reducing duplication, great care must be taken to correct abuses wherein current recipients are receiving benefits above the cost to a non-favored family of the purchase of a nutritionally adequate diet." See "One County's Combined Food Program," Food and Nutrition (April, 1978), in Community Services Administration, Office of Public Affairs, News Clippings, 78-23, June 16-23, 1978.

54. "Food Stamps: A Program that Grows and Grows," Reader's Digest, 107 (November, 1975) pp. 88-91.

55. Annual Report, Mississippi Department of Public Welfare, 1974-75, p. 95.

56. The subsidation structure is reflected in that the allotment schedule for the first half or 1977 provided for an allotment of $166 for a four person household, and $298 for an eight person household, and over $350 for a ten person household. A four person household with a reported income of less than $570.00 per month could qualify for participation, as could an eight person household with a reported net income of $1,019.99 per month. The average household size receiving food stamps with bonus value of $25-49 in Mississippi in 1975 was 1.73 persons, while the average household size receiving a bonus value of $200 or more per month was 8.96 persons.

57. To be sure, the educational system has been the subject of serious caveat as to whether it is sucessfully accomplishing appropriate objectives. Medford Evans, "Adherence to Standards Essential to Education," Simpson County (Ms.) News (April

7, 1977), p. 2. Evans, calling attention to legislative endorsement of a "required attendance bill" coupled with arguments for an "open admissions policy" before a House Committee, suggests an example of "the educational system wrestling with...how to adjust conflicting claims of compulsion and permisiveness" with the chance that the result will be an absurdity: "...everybody may be required to attend school ...they will not be required to learn anything." Medford Evans, "Open Admissions Policy: A Cover-up for Failure," Simpson County (Ms.) News (March 31, 1977) p. 2. Evans states that "the education budget cannot be indefinitely escalated if the public discovers that high school graduates don't know anything." Thus, he states, "open admissions policy for tax-supported colleges and universities is a great help to those who...conceal the failure of our puclib system to qualify students for reasonable college work, and, increasingly, the failure of our colleges to qualify graduates for much of anything." Ibid. Cf.: "School Role in Poverty Contested," New York Times (January 8, 1973), pp. 55-56; Preliminary Report of the Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency (Washington: USGPO, 1975), printed in Journal of Christian Reconstruction, 4 (Summer, 1977) pp. 121-143 as "Our Nation's Schools-- A report Card." Brown has suggested that:

> American education is strangley unproductive. It is not in backward, mountainous regions but in prosperous areas ...that there is serious discussion in mid-1976 of introducing the "reform" or requiring ability to read for graduation from high school. Travelers in poverty-stricken India can observe little children, dressed in what is probably their sole garment, trudging down a dirt road, carrying their writing slates to a mud-walled communal school. Those children will learn to read and write in a complicated script having fifty letters and numerous variants for vowel sounds by the time they are nine or ten. American children ...in jean type pants and flowered shirts, chosen from an ample selection, will be picked up by yellow buses and transported to expensive wall-to-wall carpeted buildings, where they will be occupied for twelve years and where many of them will emerge unable to read a fairly simple language in an alphabet of twenty-six letters.

Harold O. J. Brown, The Reconstruction of the Republic (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1977), p. 62.

58. Charles Boland, The Improbable Era (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1975), pp. 99-114. It has been suggested that a primary result at the high school level "was to create a 'critical mass' that stimulated dope, crime, and hostility to school." E. McGowan and D. Cohen, "Career Education--Reforming School Through Work," Public Interest, 46 (Winter, 1977), p. 3.

59. Rev. H. H. Hume commented on the status of black education in Mississippi in 1954 with the statement that "the real trouble is that you have given us schools too long in which we could study the earth through the floor and the stars through the roof." Outed in William McCord, Mississippi: The Long Hot Summer (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965), p. 164. For discussion of educational inequities, see McCord, Ibid, pp. 34-35, 42, 75. Perhaps this was in part a holdover from the Vardaman (James K., Governor, 1904-1908) era that education of blacks would "render them unfit for work the white man prescribes." Outed in Silver, Mississippi: The Closed Society, pp. 18-19. "...the county politician put it on the line. ...it's a criminal absurdity to attempt to educate an ape." Walter Lord, The Past that Would Not Die (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), p. 241. A half century later Lord was noting the potential problem of "a third great force at work in Mississippi" in the form of improved black school facilities and education levels and the fact that "whatever the degree of outside influence in today's civil rights drive, tomorrow's will be home-grown." Ibid, p. 245. In 1953 Governor White proposed a school "equalization" program. At this time the state was spending $117.43 per white student compared with $35.27 per black student. Salaries for teachers appear to have been reasonably equal given educational dispacities. Loewen and Sallis, Mississippi: Conflict and Change, p. 246. By 1961 the state's chief executive claimed in the movie Message from Mississippi that "No student can get a better education than is offered the Negro children in Mississippi." Ibid., p. 8.

60. Illustrative reports include: Office of Economic Opportunity, An Experiment in Performance Contracting, (Washington: OEO Pamphlet 3400-5, 1972); Sol Gordon, "The Bankruptcy of Compensatory Education," Education and Urban Society, 2 (August 1970), pp. 366-370; John F. Cauley, et al., Performance of Head Start and Non-Head Start Participants at First Grade," Journal of Negro Education, 39 (Spring, 1970), pp. 124-131. James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity (DHEW, 1966); Christopher Jencks, et al., Inequality, A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (New York: Basic Books, 1972); G. D. Squires, "Education, Jobs, and Inequality," Social Problems, 24 (April, 1977), pp. 436-447.

61. T. Naylor and J. Clotfelter, Strategies for Change in the South (New York: Scribner's, 1975), p. 110. A meaningful rollback in taxes and salaries for educational functionaries will likely require strong political leadership from either the legislative or executive branch, although it is possible that Jarvis-Gann type initiatives may restrain continued escalation of educational expenses. To be successful, such an ascertion of taxpayer integrity will have to overcome the built-in bias in favor of escalating school expenditures as well as accoustical bombardment of squeals from the educationcrats. A program to reduce salaries of educationists by nine percent over a three year period with decrements of three percent per year and the surplus used for property tax relief would possibly be in order. A step in the direction of apportioning educational expenditures in the direction of persons utilizing the education and increasing individual responsibility in education would be effectuated by providing a tax credit for educational tuition in alternative schools at least to the level of public expense which would have been allocated had such children attended public schools. A corollary and supportive step would be a reduction in the base line support for teacher salaries supplied by the state, with a greater proportion of salary schedules being left to the option of local districts. This should introduce a greater variety unto the level of emoulments received by teachers, and enable localities to provide the level of support to educational perquisites and estovers which they feel appropriate in terms of the trade off they wish to make as against tax extractions. Tax incentives for utilization of education by making any educationally related expenses deductible would seem highly desirable. Tax deductions for all tuition and books related to higher education would permit greater individual utilization of educational opportunity by persons so desiring. It would also be a direct support to higher education by enabling persons interested in availing themselves of higher education on their own initiative to do so. This would appear to have superior merit in that it would enable increased participation and support to higher education through increased opportunity for enrollment and consequent tuition payments. This tack might be coupled with an elimination of third party support through such devices as LEEP, CREEP (College Reading Enablement Effort Program), or the G. I. Bill , although this advance would move into the arena of national as opposed to local policy. The perspective suggested here is that beneficiaries should pay their own tuition. Removel of college bookstore profits from sequestration by athletic departments along with complete elimination of athletic scholarships at state institutions might be in order. As for the spurious argument that athletic emoluments enable some "underprivileged" to attend college, it may be noted that persons who

can toss basketballs in a gym should be competent to toss salad's in the school cafeteria. Those wishing the education as such could obtain it the same as other persons who are not supplied with the accouterments of athletic scholarships. Varigated local assessments would enable localities to support education to the level each locality thought desirable in terms of its resources. The thrust of the educrat bureaucracy in general, however, seems to run counter to maximum local determination. The Mississippi Department of Education presented recommendations to the legislature for an "equalized assessment of property ... which will bring about a more equalized local contribution to education." Allan Odden, School Finance Reform in the States: 1978 (Denver, Colorado: Education Finance Center, Department of Research and Information, Education Commission of the States, 1978), p. 50. Rep. Robert Dornan has observed that "it seems an inverse ratio exists between the measurable achievements of students and the number of dollars spent ...and illogical though it be, educationist lobbies use that argument to get more money..." Public schools," he states, "are at the forefront of the big-spend delirium" even though "huge public education budgets do not buy the kind of education hard-working parents want for their children." According to Dornan, the education lobby, "the nation's strongest, most organized pressure group," declares that "the one proper place for parents is in voting for bond issues." Robert K. Dornan, "foreword," Connaught Marshner, Blackboard Tyranny (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978), p. 12.

63. Marshner, Ibid, p. 20.

64. Cited in Marshner, Ibid, p. 20.

65. Sar A. Levitan, Programs in Aid of The Poor (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1973), p. 136.

66. Milton Friedman, There's no Such as a Free Lunch (LaSalle, Illinois: Open Court, 1975), pp. 261-262.

67. R. Staff and J. Tullock, "Education and Equality," Annals, 409 (September, 1973), p. 126.

68. Hapgood has stated:

> Rate-of-return estimates do tell us that efforts to keep everyone in school longer make little economic sense. The average rate of return for post-secondary education is quite low. For the kinds of students who are not now in college, it is even lower. For working-class whites, blacks and women,

> dropping out seems in many cases to be the most economically rational decision.

David Hapgood, *The Screwing of the Average Man* (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1974), pp. 172-173. Patterson has observed that the higher education boom of the 1960s may be said to have given way to the bust of the 1970s as "educational inflation" occurred wherein higher credentials, bearing little if any relationship to job performance, were required in order to fence out potential competitors for jobs and to take advantage of and absorb the inflated supply." Michelle Patterson, "Government Policy and Equality in Higher Education, " *Social Problems*, 24 (December, 1976), p. 172. Berube observes that estimates are that one-fourth to over one-third of the labor force are "overqualified" for their position in terms of formal education attained. M. R. Berube, "The Revolt Against College", *Commonwealth* (April 15, 1977), p. 233. The anomolous situationy to much education has been described in Richard Freeman, *The Over Educated American* (New York: Academic Press, 1977), Cf.: Ivar Berg, *The Great Training Robbery* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972). For discussion of the merits of lowering the normal school-leaving age to fourteen. see Edward Banfield, *The Unheavenly City Revisited* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1974), pp. 100-101, 168-178. Marshner, who feels that "the popular defenses of compulsory education are not very strong, when examined critically," provides such examination in *Blackboard Tyranny*, pp. 311-318.

69. As Staff and Tullock pointed out, the poverty or well-being of the parents is frequently confused with the well-being of the student himself. The point is made in West's paper "Efficiency versus Equity in Higher Education," of a physician whose income had a present value of about one million dollars, who pointed out that subsidation of his education was justified because his father was an agricultural laborer. West notes "it is not clear why the class status of the father is relevant in determining whether or not this physician should have been given a gift by the state that generated one million dollars of wealth." Staff and Tullock, p. 127.

70. *Ibid*, p. 132.

71. For extensive discussion of "family poor equalizing" through a voucher system and its "subsidiarity" (pluralistic decision making in the interests of diversity and locality) see Joseph H. Cooper, "The Dollars and Sense of Public Education," *Urban Lawyer*, 6 (1974), pp. 138-163. For discussion of the Court imposed limitations in educational matters by putting a standardized type of public education in a preferred market place position, see John E. Nowak, "The Supreme Court, the Religion Clauses and

the Nationalization of Education," *Northwestern University Law Review*, 70 (1976), pp. 683-909. Nowak is of the opinion that "there is little hope that the children of the poor will be provided meaningful religious or educational freedom" as long as the judiciary seeks to prevent religious groups from acting on behalf of what they preceive as their own interests. "The Court ordered nationalization in pursuit of social goals through publically funded education does not allow for pluralism. Hopefully, the Court will one day alter its position and allow States to provide alternative forms of funding." *Ibid*, p. 883. Nowak's examination particularizes the effect of the ban on meaningful enabling legislation for alternative schools at the State level on the educational opportunities of children in low-income families. For discussion of the current inequities in financing the educational system and state attempted remedies, see E. G. West, *Nonpublic School Aid: The Law, Economics, and Politics of American Education* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C.Heath and Co., 1976). Arons has argued that the present state of compulsory school attendance and financing of public schools does not adequately satisfy the principle of government neutrality toward family choice in education. Stephen Arons, "The Separation of School and State," *Harvard Education Review* (February, 1976).

72. On the basis of this figure, 1976-77 private school enrollment of Mississippi pupils may be said to have saved Mississippi tax payers upward of $4 million during that one year.

73. Mississippi Department of Education, *1976-77 Statistical Data*.

74. Susan Stodoksky and Gerald Lesser, "Learning Patterns of the Disadvantaged," *Harvard Educational Review*, 37 (1967), p. 582.

75. James Coleman, "Equal Schools for Equal Students," *Public Interest* (July, 1966), p.7 3.

76. Christopher Jencks, et al., *Inequality, A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1972).

77. Marshner states that "because public education has ignored and denigrated parents in the past, it must strictly respect parental prerogatives from now on. Parents and taxpayers," she hopes, "will no longer tolerate the excuse that ninth graders cannot read and write because of 'larger social changes.' Parents must take the matter into their own hands, if public schools are unsatisfactory, parents must find means of educating their children that *are* satisfactory." Marshner feels that "educational options must be dramatically widened; private schools, ad hoc schools, home education,

apprenticeship education -- even no education at all in the formal sense-- should be among the choices available to American children." Blackboard Tyranny, pp. 320-321.

One appropriate tenor of direction might be that of expanded apprenticeship programs, particularly apart from educational institutions as providers or recipients of grants or funding, combined with reduction of union barriers, limitations, and prohibitions to occupational entry.

78. P. Horton and G. Leslie, The Sociology of Social Problems (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1974), p. 307. Sowell, in discussing the inequities accruing from governmental policies in his chapter "Race and the Government" in Race and Economics, states the treatment received by minorities in public education would be hard to imagine in a profit-making enterprise. He states,

> ...The point here is not that there happened to have been abuses in the public school system but rather that the institutional structure of the school system is one in whch such abuses can flourish. A public school has a monopoly within its assigned district (where those in the district are not prosperous enough to afford private schools), and in fact a monopoly in which the customers are forced to take the service as long as the law specifies, whether they are satisifed with it or not. Government supplied education of ethnic minorities tends to be not only quantitatively substandard, but even more substandard qualitatively.

Thomas Sowell , Race and Economics (New York: McKay, 1975), p. 192. Sowell makes the important point that government is not the "public interest" personified.

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CHAPTER SEVEN -- AGRICULTURE AND RURAL POVERTY

1. Quoted in Mary Ellen Hombs, "Renovated Houses, Displaced Persons: A Fable for American Cities," Soujourners, 6 (March, 1977), pp. 29-30. The Fourth Amendment brought into the U.S. Constitution "the English insistence that every man's home is his castle, into which Government cannot intrude except by meeting the most stringent conditions." Carrol D. Kilgore, Judicial Tyranny (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Inc., 1977), p. 84.

2. "Where land was abundant and the voyage to the New World itself a claim to independence, the spirit which repudiated peasantry flourished with ease." Louis Hartz, The Liberal Tradition in America (1955), cited in Harold F. Breimyer, "The Changing American Farm," Annals, 429 (January, 1977), p. 14. With land and the opportunity it presented in America "the gutter sweepings of Europe became sturdy yeomen and citizens" free of an hereditary nobility. Clay L. Cochran, "Public Policy and Rural America," Rural America, 1 (December 1976 - January, 1977) p. 7.

3. "The land is still the cradle of great poverty and injustice...who owns the land? What are the social, economic, and environmental consequences of present land ownership patterns? Few questions are more important for the future of America's land and people..." Peter Barnes, in Peter Barnes (ed.), The People's Land: A Reader on Land Reform in the United States. (Emmanus, Pa.: Rodale Press, 1975). pp. ix-x.

4. Barnes has observed that "In any given county, whether urban or rural, the ten largest property owners often own ten to fifteen percent of the assessed valuation. In many parts of the country, it is the giant landlords...timber companies, railroads, energy companies, corporate farms...that dominate the livelihood of local citizens." Ibid., p.x. "The concentration and control of land and marketing is growing rapidly, posing a threat to freedom of entry...to competition and fair prices. By 1969 151,000 farmers (5.5%) controlled over half the land. The use of economic power includes the power of corporations to buy land in large quantities..." Rural America, 1 (December 1976 - January 1977), p. 9.

5. For Jefferson, "agrarianism and private property were...the means to democracy. Land was the typical form of private property, and farming was the typical use of land." Bertrand and Corty, Rural Land Tenure in the United States, p. 214. Cf.: Joe R. Mothereal,

"The Family Farm and Three Traditions," Journal of Farm Economics, 33 (August, 1951). "Instead of baronial estates, let us facilitate the increase of independent homesteads," said Rep. William Holman in explaining the Homestead Act of 1862:

> Let us keep the plow in the hands of the owner. Every new home that is established, the independent possessor of which cultivates his own freehold, is establishing a new republic within the old, and adding a new and strong pillar to the edifice of the State.

Congressional Globe (1861-62), p. 1031, cited and Irving Mark, "The Homestead Ideal and Conservation of the Public Domain," Journal of Economics and Sociology, 22 (1963). p. 269. See Twelve Southerners, I'll Take My Stand (New York: Harper and Bros., 1930) for a basic statement in advocacy of expansion of the agricultural segment of the American economy in a Jeffersonian democratic structure as the desired goal for the South. For Agrarian perspective and influence, see Thomas Young and M. Inge, Donald Davidson (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971), p. 129. Cf.: Patrick F. Quinn, "Agrarianism and the Jeffersonian Philosophy," Review of Politics, 11 (January, 1940), pp. 87-103; Ann Ward Archer, "Calhoun and Some Nashville Agrarians," South Atlantic Quarterly, LIX (1960), pp. 251-264.

6. John Van Sickle, Planning for the South, (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1943). For a statement of the psychological and social boost which access to land provided to persons favored by the Farm Security Administration Resettlement Program, see Lester M. Salamon, Land and Minority Enterprise (Washington: Office of Minority Enterprise, 1976), pp. 29-53.

7. A. Smith and W. Martin, "Socioeconomic Behavior of Cattle Ranchers with Implications for Rural Community Development in the West," American Journal of Agricultural Economics, 54 (2), pp. 47-255; Walter Goldschmidt, Small Business and the Community: A Study in Central Valley California on the Effects of Scale Farm Operation. Report of Special Committee to study problems of American Small Business, U.S. Senate (Washington: US GPO, 1946).

8. "Farm subsidies historically were sold on the grounds that they protect our sturdy yeoman farmer...That's not how it worked out ...Schultze found that...63 per cent went to the wealthiest 19 percent, while the poorest half of the farm population shared

9 percent of the pie. The government was picking out the richest farmers, who already made more than the average eater, and was writing them checks that doubled their pay, while the poor yeoman remained just that. Still, the eating public, unhappy about food prices, has aimed little of its fury at the farm subsidies. This was true even in 1972, when the farm swindle went international, and the beneficiaries were not just rich American socialists, but real foreign socialists...That was the year of the great Russian deal, which, besides enriching a few insiders in the grain business (who were alert enough to ask for a tax break on their profits), had as its main effect the driving up of food prices in the United States, so that Russians were paying less than Americans for bread made from American wheat. Even that did not arouse much visible anger, perhaps because the whole transaction was so complicated." David Hapgood, The Screwing of the Average Man (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1974), pp. 268-269.

According to Van Gorder, "The American government, for the past forty years, has done more to help Communism succeed than have all the non-Communist nations of the world combined. Results out rank motives. For whatever reasons, our leaders have delivered our machinery, equipment, animals, chemcials, people, and know-how to the enemy -- on credit." Dan P. Van Gorder, Ill Fares the Land (Boston: Western Islands, 1966), p.ix. Cf.: Anthony Sutton, National Suicide: American Military Aid to the Soviet Union (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1973), and Western Technology and Soviet Economic Development (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1968, 1970, 1973; 3 volumes).

9. Ellen S. Bryant and Joanne Clarke, Mississippi Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 840), p. 23.

10. F. Leuthold and R. McManus, "Decline of the U.S. Rural Population." Tennessee Farm and Home Science, 95 (July, August, September, 1975), p. 8.

11. One wonders if this might be likened to selling of a peerage with accoutrement estovers, emoulments, and entitlements, or what the qualitative difference might be between this and selling claims to, say, emoluments for military service or railroad retirment. For commentary, see Paul Findley, The Federal Farm Fable (New York: Arlington House, 1968).

12. Mississippi Agricultural Statistics 1954-1973 (Jackson: Mississippi Department of Agriculture and Commerce) Supplement No. 9, p. 11.

13. Ellen S. Bryant and K. M. Leung, Mississippi Farm Trends 1950 to 1964, (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 754, 1967), p. 3. The human equation is often preempted by the economic so that so-called economic "progress" is uncritically regarded as synonymous with human progress, and efficiency for whom and at what social and human cost may be excluded from the calculus of agricultural policy. Consequently, expressions such as the following seem to be widely accepted as self-defining of the kind of result toward which policy should be directed without taking the lost opportunity costs of those who do not benefit from the "efficient allocations" into the calculus:

> The cornerstone of the Mississippi economy is the ever growing and vibrant agricultural sector. Larger farming units, more efficient allocations of land resources, and utilization of the latest technology on this land has paved the way to increased cash farm income. Combine this productivity and cash returns with the diversification achieved in agriculture in the past twenty years and the agricultural economy, as well as the economy of Mississippi as a whole, emerges stronger and more stable than ever before.

Pepper, "Trends in Mississippi Agriculture--1950-1973," in Mississippi Agricultural Statistics 1954-1973, (Jackson: Mississippi and United States Department of Agriculture, 1975), p. iv. While it is doubtless true that for many persons "Profit is the reason for farming in Mississippi" (Ibid., p. 11), it is not inappropriate to ask "for whom and at what cost to others."

14. E. Nolan Waller, "Agriculture: A Vital Sector of Mississippi's Economy," Mississippi's Business, 36 (October, 1977), p. 2. Average farm size in Mississippi showed worse regression toward larger concentrations than did Tennessee (140 acre average size) and Alabama (209 acres), but was no worse than the average size in Louisiana (275 acres) and Arkansas (287 acres).

15. Arthur Kelly, "Small Farm Land Tenure in the Yazoo Basin," Mississippi Geographer, 3 (Spring, 1975), p. 42. Kelly points out in this study that one of the many reasons given for the downfall of the Roman Empire was the passing of the yeomen farmers and their replacement by large estates. He adds that "whether the economics of this statement could be proved statistically or not, an analogy might

be made as a warning for future land tenure in the United States. The average farm size more than doubled in the fifty year period from 1910 to 1960 and has increased another twenty percent in the last decade." p. 37.

16. Carlton R. Sollie, Land Tenure Patterns and Use in Three North Mississippi Counties (State College: Progress Report in Sociology and Rural Life No. 33., 1969), p.1.

17. For example, see John L. Fulmer, Agricultural Progress in the Cotton Belt Since 1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1950), p. 70. There is some indication that farmers with high or antifarm aspirations are the most likely to leave farming. It may be suggested by obiter that economic incentives should not be employed to entice or retain farmers. The position taken here is that agriculture, the fundamental survival occupation, should be the respository of persons whose interest is other than acquisitiveness. One study of low-income farm operators reported that farmers with low incomes liked farming, planned to continue farming, and would chose to farm if starting over again. Farmers with low aspirations while not necessarily "oriented toward economic success in farming" were pleased with their style of life. It was concluded that whenever "...poor people may not want to be other poor," policies designed to develop farms as accumulation devices for higher incomes may not be effective. F.C. Fliegel, "Aspirations of Low-Income Farmers and Their Performance Potential for Change," Rural Sociology, 24 (September, 1959), pp. 209-214.

18. Van Gorder described the hostility to marginal agricultural as manifest in post-1933 agricultural policy as follows:

> ...doctrinaires were directing our agricultural destiny from Washington's plush bureaus and error was on the throne. They were urging greater and greater reductions in food production, more and more reductions in our already emaciated farm population. The rush toward both goals was accelerated by their characteristic dogmatical definition of a submarginal farm. Such a farm was, they declared, any farm that cannot be operated commercially at a profit.

Ill Fares the Land, p. 120.

Despite the official hostility to marginal agriculture and the use of land for subsistence agricultural production by "poor" farmers (who indeed may be limited in terms of expendible dollar income), there may be a distinct social policy advantage to promotion of small scale subsistence agriculture, for individuals and for the broader social fabric as well. Writing in the mid-1960s, Van Gorder noted, in describing life in Appalachia, that if the "submarginal" farmer /what, to this author, would appear to be the real family farmer/ is industrious and thrifty, he grows a vegetable garden to furnish fresh vegetables, has conical mounds of potatoes for feeding the year round, has several cows for milk, a small flock of hens, fruit, year around meat, makes occasional sales for several hundred dollars a year, may have the possibility of boosting family income by part-time work in nearby mills of employment by the wife in area low wage. He and his family," Van Gorder suggests, "have fresher air, know more of the quiet and serenity of normal living, enjoy more of the healthful freedom God intended all to enjoy, eat better..." than they could dream if torn from the land and forced "into the grime and crime of overcrowded urban life" to become a "ward of an all-knowing welfare state." He sees an consistency between his travels and interviews in Appalachia and the "poor farmer" for whom panels and reporters shed copious tears. Van Gorder is convinced that it is "the independent, thrifty, industrious, self-sustaining farmer" whose agrarian vigor has been sacrificed by deliberate policy to "force them into already overcrowded towns and cities, pay their rents by rent subsidies, house them in homes built where slums have been cleared, protect their health under medicare, provide them food via free school lunches and food stamps --the bills paid by tax dollars." He feels that low capital self-sustenance farms are a highly important component of the social structure.

> Every enduring segment of our complex economy is based on the unvoiced and unrecognized principle that somewhere in our social and business empire must be a place where a relatively large number of our citizenry may find a niche where they may live out their unostentatious spans without burdening the state or interfering with the hurried, noisy, soul-searing currents of modern commercial life.

Van Gorder, *Ill Fares the Land*, pp. 120-124.

To Van Gorder, there is an highly substantive contrast between the "merits and noncommercial rewards of self-sustenance farming," but little substantive difference between the "tremendous trend toward bigger farms and more commericialization" wherein the aim as a social and economic organization is the same as "a large percentage of city families--often running a rat-race to 'make ends meet'." He feels that the objective of government agricultural policy has been toward reduction of sustenance farms and an increased presence of and dependence on government.

Within the last few years there have renewed expressions of official concern about making rural American "vital" through various kinds of federal initiatives. In addition to the question of what authority the federal entity may have for financing local water projects, housing construction, etc., the question of whether government presence will be increased is always an important consideration since its presence may represent a threat to republican viability. Perhaps the most healthy negotiation from the perspective of a nation of "small republics" wherein the effort to homognize ontologically and historically rooted deviations into centralist forms and themes is protected by the preserving influence of over-arching law to limit law as a continuing function is suggested by Bradford's description of the Nashville Agrarians:

> ...they hoped for a wide distribution of what the law calls real property, widespread economic independence (with all the dignity that situation insures) ...they were willing to involve state and federal powers in the effort to arrange for that distribution, just so long as envy was not in consequence converted into a sanctioned social attitude -- and so long as these powers withdrew swiftly after restorative reforms were concluded.

M.E. Bradford, "The Nashville Agrarians: Some Thoughts at Dartmouth," Occasional Review, 7 (Winter, 1977), p. 48.

The Agrarians opposed incorporation of agriculture into the industrial system (as opposed to an agriculturally based sustenance independence as the guiding motif for Southern development) and dominance by the twin corollaries of industrial-financial-commercial corporate business and omnipotent government. One proposal which they offered during the 1930s which reflects of the application of what they felt to be an appropriate use of government was a suggestion that the government buy large absentee plantations, and distribute small acre plots complete with two cows, house, and barn. Bradford makes the commentary on contemporary realities which possibly point to the wisdom of the Agrarian model for man's relationship to contingency gathered "in practical aspect around the symbolic and actual figure of the farmer..." in his observation of "prospects of a real shortage of food and staples, the problems with fuel, the likelihood that we shall all soon be subject to a small but angry landed interest...the ruin of the 'paper money economy' as we have known it." Ibid., p. 50.

Van Gorder saw particular irony if not strategy in the claim that "a farm so run-down, denuded, eroded and exhausted that its operator cannot raise on it enough food to feed himself and his family" was, according to Van Gorder, regarded by the Department of Agriculture as "contributing to the 'burdensome surplus' of food" allegedly menacing the nation. Ill Fares the Land, p. 121.

19. The term "human being" should be substituted for "young" in any consideration of agricultural policy. The young" may not be so disadvantaged as the middle-aged or aged.

20. G.W. Thomas, et al., Progress and Change in the Agricultural Industry (Dubuque, Ia: Kendall/Hunt, 1973).

21. William D. Heffernan and Paul Lasley, "Agricultural Structure and Interaction in the Local Community: A Case Study," Rural Sociology, 43 (Fall, 1978), pp. 348,349.

22. Bryant and Leung, p. 4. Cf.: I. Tower, Mississippi's Changing Economy (Jackson: Mississippi R & D Center, 1974), p. ix.

23. Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population: A Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 to 1970 (Mississippi State: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974), pp. 6, 14. Changes in the structure of agricultural production are all too often blandly equated with a "need" to shift from agriculture to industry. "With the present know-how we need (sic) only about one-half as many farmers as we need today" said a spokesman in 1960. M.G. Smith, Increasing Understanding of Public Problems and Policies, 1960 (Chicago: The Farm Foundation, 1960), p. 2.

24. For example, "farmers" have been seeking to be paid for crops not produced, and for "placing under" crops to prevent a surplus, in order to afflict consumers with higher prices. They have also opposed consumer relief in the form of beef imports to fight continuing high prices in the United States. That such policies could be articulated openly and blatantly without incurring public wrath is perhaps a severe indictment of the moral stature of the nation, and, as well, perhaps, reflects the degree to which community influential representatives of commercial chemicals, high capital machinery, banking, and attendant services have a vested interest in ensuring artificially high renumeration to inheritors of farms and business-persons with surplus money invested in agriculture.

25. Thus we find we anomalay of farmers plowing corn into the ground out of pique because, as expressed by one "farmer," "we've got a disease on this corn...That's why we are plowing it up. It's called L.P., low price." "Farmer Plows Under Corn Field," Farmers Agricultural News, 1 (September 25--October 24, 1978) p. 10.

26. "The banks...only want to loan...for a very good reason: The price of farm land has been driven to terrific levels by big money speculators...foreign buyers, utility companies, large farm equipment companies, oil companies, large food processing firms, and the banks themselves...If the bank takes title to the farm land...they cannot lose, simply because of the inflated and unrealistic price..." "To All True Americans," Farmers Agricultural News (September, 25 - October 24, 1978), p. 8.

27. Ethel A. Starbird, "Vermont, A State of Mind and Mountains," 146 National Geographic (July, 1974), Cf.: National Geographic, 150 (November, 1976), p. 676. One remedy sometimes proposed is that of special reduced assessments for agriculture. While it may have some desirable effect, it is likely to be another example of those who do not have supporting those who do. The overall desideratum would seem to be low land values and low general taxation.

28. J. Stam and A. Sibold, Agriculture and the Property Tax (Washington USDA, ERS, AE Report No. 392, 1977); T. Hady and A. Sibold, State Programs for the Differential Assessment of Farm and Open Space Land (Washington: USDA, ERS, AE Report No. 256, 1974).

29. E. Nolan Waller, "Mississippi's Valuable Farmland," Mississippi's Business, 37 (August, 1978), pp. 4-5. During February 1, 1977 to February 1, 1978 farm real estate in Mississippi escalated by more than 13%! Mississippi was one of only eight states with increases of this magnitude. Nationally, the increase was an heinous 9%. Farm enlargement accounted for 8% of all farmland purchases during this interim. Farmers Agricultural News, 1 (August 25, 1978), p. 5.

30. Ibid, p. 7.

31. W.G. Murray, "Farm Size, and Land Values," in Cooperate Farming and the Family Farm (Ames, Iowa: Ia. St. Univ. Press, 1970), p. 41. Ther are other dangers than the spectre of agricultural production by corporations and corporate like "family" fiefdom enterprises. For example, in early 1977 it was reported that the nation's largest brokerage house in cohort with the nation's seventh largest bank planned to set up an "agricultural investment fund" for the purpose of exploiting rising land values with pension and profit sharing funds. David Cohen, "Stop That Farmland Investment Fund," Farm Journal (February, 1977), p. G2.

For a survey of state laws on corporate farming, see Council of State Governments, "Corporate Farming and the Family Farm," CSG Research Brief, 1976.

32. "Farmers on the Move," Farm Index (October, 1977), p. 6. C.B.S. "60 Minutes" program in November, 1978 reported on the role of foreign investments in American farm land. Foreigners, apparently, are in position to buy out American farmland with

our own money. For foreigners with surplus money sitting in banks, American farm land purchases at double competitive prices represent a means of capital preservation. Estimates were made that 50% of the farmland sold in California is sold to Japanese, Germans, Arabs, Italians, Iranians. The program reflected on the affect on small communities which traditionally were service centers for families living on 20, 40, 60 acre farmsteads, who bought their shoes, tractors, pepsis, in the small service center communities. The program pointed out that the U.S. is unique in the absence of protection from foreign investment. Foreigners, according to this program, are banned from control of the basis of food production in many countires, such as Japan, or Iran.

One interviewee fortunate enough to possess hundreds of acres sold his holdings for $3,000 per acre in 1976. He sold because the attractive price made the sale irrestible as a sale above value or expectation. Within a two year period the price had more than doubled. Foreign investment in American farm land, which is increasing in value, is one way to dispose of surplus money sitting in banks and losing value. Foreign purchasers were shown to receive special tax incentives, such as exemption from capital gains. According to this program, foreigners could export produce grown in America from America without payment of any tax whatsoever.

One interviewee, a five generation area farm holder, lamented that his progeny were unable to expand their hold on agricultural property because foreign investors had outbid the market price of land. This, in itself, is illustrative of the problem of access. In terms of opportunity of access, a poor individual is not any better off under a structure wherein it requires either wealth or prior ownership and inheritance to obtain agricultural property than when the inheritor of an agricultural lineage finds it difficult to expand because foreign purchasers have driven up land prices. Perhaps the answer, in terms of opportunity of access *without* the opportunities for graft, favortism, and arbitrary selection likely to accompany any direct government program of land distribution and access, would be movement toward policy which, at least, would not contribute to escalating land values, and toward a policy of less cash income from agricultural enterprises, and less support of the well-to-do by the poor in terms of land investment and tax loss farming, all of which might be expected to reduce pecuniary incentives for acquisition of agricultural land. Rural America, it would seem, should be preserved as a potential haven for life and existence of other than megabucks operators. Any government intervention in positive fashion is likely to involve artificially induced distortion as occured in the government's promotion of capital intensive agriculture in its effort to eliminate marginal or "low income" farm enterprises. Thomas, *Poverty in the Nonmetropolitan South*.

Under present tax structure favoring large investors, "a non resident foreigner who invests /i.e., captures/ agricultural land but does not actually farm it is exempted from capital gains." According to Sen. Malcolm Wallop

> ...individual instances of speculative land investment have a decided effect on land prices, and as these purchases and sales increase in number they will only spiral upward, increasing the farmer's average cost of production and the cost of food.
>
> 'The tax incentive given to foreign investors places domestic farmers at a disadvantage when land purchases are required to expand a farm operation," Wallop said. "Many American farmers have already been priced out of further land investments, even though increases in farm size could improve a farm's economy and efficiency. There is no reason why the U.S. Government should retain a tax law which encourages foreign investment that conflicts with the best interests of the American farmer and consumer.'

"New Tax for Foreign Dollars," Farmers Agricultural News, 1 (August 25, 1978), p. 8. According to Wallop, "this capital gains treatment is one of several incentives which attract foreign investors to the U.S. Land market."..This tax treatment can only attract the worst kind of speculative investment." Ibid. Further contributing to the rising land costs have been "tax-loss farming schemes among rich people seeking to lower their tax bills." Carey Fowler, "Family Farmers - Old McDonald's in Trouble" (Nashville" Agricultural Marketing Project, n.d.) Cf.:"The Scramble to Buy U.S. Land Spreads 'All Over the World,'" U.S. News and World Report (September 12, 1978), p. 78.

33. Dorothy Dickens, Improved Levels of Living of Tenant Families, (State College: Mississippi AES Bulletin 365, 1942); U.S. Department of Commerce and USDA Cooperative Report, Farm Tenure: A Graphic Summary, 1950 (Washington, 1952); USDA, A Statistical Summary of Land Tenure, 1954 (USDA Agricultural Information Bulletin 200, 1958); Frank Maier, et al, The Tenure Status of Farmworkers in the United States, (USDA Technical Bulletin, 1217, 1960).

34. For discussion of types of tenancy tenure systems, see Alvin Bertrand and F.L. Corty, Rural Land Tenure in the United States (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1962). Raper and Reid use the term "sharecroppers" to apply to many non-farm workers on whom the

social and economic system impose the same hardship of subservience and deprivation. Observing that throughout America's history "new types of exploitation have been hit upon as the gleanings from the old diminished," they feel that the sharecropping system made many Southern communities essentially feudalistic, involving low wages, insecurity, and lack of opportunity for self-direction and responsible participation in community affairs. Arthur Raper and Ira Reid, Sharecroppers All (Chapel Hill; University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. v, vi, 213. For a particularly graphic portrait of the Southern tenant farmer in the 1930s, see Erksine Caldwell and Margaret Bourke-White, You Have Seen Their Faces. (New York: Viking Press 1937).

35. "While cotton was the first major crop to benefit from machine technology, it was the last to become completely mechanized. A cotton picker that would harvest the ripe bolls and leave green ones wasn't devised until 1942. After that, and with the end of World War II, cotton picking rapidly became a job for machines...Next, the development and widespread adoption of chemical weed killers in the 1950s and 60s virtually eliminated hand labor in cotton. In the early 60s, less than a third of the cotton was treated with herbicide. By 1972, over 90% was treated...In the 1920s, it took 270 hours of labor to produce a bale of cotton. In 1948, that was down to 120 hours; today, it takes 25 hours." Joe Dan Boyd, "Cotton," Review of Ben Robertson, Red Hills, and Cotton, (Reprint of 1942 edition, University of South Carolina Press, 1976), Farm Journal (March 1976), pp. 44,5; Cf.: Thomas R. Brooks, Walls Come Tumbling Down: A History of the Civil Rights Movement 1940-1970 (Prentice-Hall, 1974), pp. 91-92; Frank J. Welch, The Plantation Land Tenure System in Mississippi, (Mississippi AES, June, 1943), Harold A. Peterson and Arthur Raper, The Cotton Plantation in Transition, (Mississippi AES, 1954); F.S. Welch and D.G. Miley, Mechanization of the Cotton Harvest (Mississippi AES Bulletin 420, 1945); Nelson L. LeRay and Grady Crowe, Labor and Technology on Selected Cotton Plantations in the Delta Area of Mississippi (Mississippi AES Bulletin No. 575, 1959).

36. Salamon, Land and Minority Enterprise.

37. Roy Marshall, Rural Workers in Rural Labor Markets (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1974), p. 34.

38. As Ford has quite appropriately pointed out, this issue is fundamental to policy regarding rural poverty since if the agrarian transition is associated with the type, magnitude, and direction of political intervention rather than market inefficiency, a quite a different set of remedial policy measures would be appropriate. Arthur M. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South. (Cambridge: Ballinger Pub. Co., 1973), p. 35.

Rewarding of farmers for being farmers has been characteristic of four decades of American agricultural policy. Beginning in the depression, farmers were paid for destroying and/or for not producing foodstuffs. By paying benefits for land ownership, providing pricing floors for agricultural products, and by providing tax hedges for physicians and wealthy businessmen in the form of accumulation of agricultural space, government policy has contributed to the increased capital value and prices of farm land, has helped alter farming from a way of life to a recreational/business enterprise of the economically privileged partially at public expense and partially through sequestration of the hoipolli from opportunity for agricultural production.

This has helped choke access to agricultural enterprise by persons desirous to enter production apart from its economic advantage. Eventually such a process will almost inevitably solidify into a status wherein the agricultural privileged overbloated both in operational size and expectation of the claims they would like to prosecute against the public, would feel entitled to cease production on pain of increased extraction of tribute from the public for the benefit of the agriculturally privileged. One recent exacerbation of problems whose magnitude is at least to some degree attributable to government policies, is the notion of paying small farmers a pecuniary emolument for retaining farms rather than selling their land for other uses. Such a development is highly undesirable public policy in terms of access to opportunity. Certainly, small farmers are entitled to sell their property for whatever they can get. However, they are not entitled to a public tribute from the tax funds of the less privileged for retaining and not alienating land. Furthermore. such a policy moves in the direction of artificial feudalistic privilege in favor of the advantaged, making it even more difficult for persons of limited means to acquire property as they must compete against yet another government transfer. It is of interest to note in this context that as the Roman economy slumped lower and lower, burdened with aggravated inflation and costly government, and as economic enterprise was brought increasingly under authority of the state, laws were passed binding small farmers to their land as economic activity was increasingly brought under the power of the state and freedoms were lost. Payment of tribute to landowners (carrot policy) is different from enforced locational and activity laws (stick policy) only in degree; either is based on an underlying presupposition of the desirability/necessity of government initiative. Apart from the destructive parameters of the intervention itself, the moral tragedy of positive government benefit granted to privileged classes by virtue of their occupation of a position of privilege (i.e., small farm ownership) is that those who are less privileged are forced to further solidify the privileged position of those to whom they must render tribute, and this in alleged response to problems of the government's own intensification. One might remember that the "New Deal" agricultural policy was ostensibly claimed to be necessary on behalf of our nations' yeoman farmers when its effect was an assault on the public purse,(by government transfers), the family budget (through higher taxes and prices), and yeoman opportunity through small farm viability and potential ownership. For extended discussion of modern society's state of affairs and its underlying presuppositions in terms of the broader sweep of western thought and culture, see Francis A. Schaeffer, How Should We Then Live? (Old Tappan, N.J.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1976).

39. "Every third row of cotton was plowed under and a million or so pigs slaughtered and buried. This seems a peculiar way to clothe and feed an ill-clad hungry population." Billy Boetz, "The Mad Depression Revisited," Intellect (January, 1976), p. 309. Boetz argues that the strategy of meeting a simultaneous falling off of business volume (depression) by price and wage maintenance policies is a "dog chasing its tail" as well as prime example of "the inexorable madness of the human race." Since we can only consume what we produce, and maintenance of the maximum level of production makes possible a maximum level of consumption, i.e., the highest possible standard of living, a cutting of prices (goods, materials, wages, salaries, rents) makes it possible for inventories to be cleared and goods to move into the hands of consumers. Maintenance of prices makes it impossible to interrupt the downward spiral of reduced volume, reduced employment, and further reduced column in a continuing spiral. Ibid.,pp. 305, 309.

40. See James Maddox, "An Historical Review of the Nation's Efforts to Cope with Rural Poverty," Journal of Farm Economics (December, 1968); Murray Augustus Benedict, Farm Policies of the United States, 1790-1950 (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1953); Sidney Baldwin, Poverty and Politics (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); David Conrad, The Forgotten Farmers (Urbanna: University of Illinois Press, 1965); Donald Grubbs, CRS from the Cotton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971). J.S. Auerbach. "Southern Tenant Farmers: Socialist Critics of the New Deal," Labor History, 7 (1966), pp. 5-13; Lowell K. Dyson, "The Southern Tenant Farmers Union and Depression Politics," Political Science Quarterly (June. 1973), pp. 321-252; Gunwar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper and Row), p. 54 , and C. Hardin, "The Bureau Agricultural Economics Under Fire," Journal of Farm Economics, 28 (1946), pp. 635-668, for discussion of the reaction of small tenant farmers, farm laborers, and sharecroppers to the federal policies initiated in the 1930s which seemed not only to be bringing them no benefits but to be driving large numbers from the land.

41. "...changes in per capita income are not adequate measures of economic development because they ignore the distributional effects of development. It is entirely possible for per capita in-

come to increase and many groups be worse off absolutely and relatively." Marshall, "Program and Research Issues in Rural Development," p. 24. "Its' like I say Nelson Rockefeller and I have $2 billion between us. He has $1,999,999,999 and I have $1. That doesn't help me much. In fact, it often hurts." Ralph Blumenthal, "The Suburban Poor," in The Paradox of Poverty in America, p. 79.

42. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty, p. 50. "Until the 1973 changes, whose effects are still unclear, the farm subsidies were costing the consumer about $10 billion a year, half in direct payments to farmers and half in crop limitations that had the effect of raising food prices an average of 15 per cent." Hapgood, The Screwing of the Average Man, p. 268.

43. Wayne C. Rohrer and L.H. Douglas, The Agrarian Transition in America: Dualism and Change (Bobbs-Merril, 1969); Grant McConnel The Decline of Agrarian Democracy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), p. 106.

Allen has stated:

> I have in my Nashville office a Government document of 2,012 pages of fine type, listing farmowners, State by State, who were paid $5,000 or more in 1969, 8 years after Dwight D. Eisenhower ceased to be President, which shows a drain on the Treasury for that 1 year of $3,794,350 paid to corporations and other farmowners, many for keeping their land out of production when they had no intention of cultivating it in the first place.
>
> Here are a few examples of how the money was spent:
>
> In the State of California, County of Kings, J. G. Boswell Co., a corporation of Corcoran, Calif., was paid $4,370,657,000 for this 1 year alone, supposedly for not cultivating certain parts of its land.
>
> In the State of Kentucky, Union County, the Aluminum Co. of America was paid $48.414. Think about it. The Aluminum Co. of America, $48.414.
>
> In Mississippi, Bolivar County, Delta & Pine Land Co., of Scott, another corporation, was paid $731,772. And in the same State, the Eastland Plantation Co., of Doddsville, owned and controlled by one of Mississippi's most prominent citizens, was paid $146,792.
>
> In Tennessee, Fayette County, Jerry Skelton, of Collierville, was paid $82,779, that year, and the Cowan Bros., of LaGrange, were paid $79,392.
>
> And on and on and on—costing the taxpayers $3.8 billion for just this 1 year.
>
> But what happened to all of the tenant farmers and sharecroppers and their families who were driven off the farms by these billions and billions of dollars spent by the Federal Government to entice landowners, many of them large corporations, to take their land out of cultivation? Millions of innocent victims of this misguided program wound up in the hard core of the big cities, living in rundown, miserable slums, with their children playing on rooftops or on the streets and sidewalks—many driven by despair to crime, dope, and muggings on the street—and the Government spending, and still spending, literally billions and billions of dollars more each year to take care of them on welfare and other forms of aid—surely the most wasteful and costly blunder ever made by the Government in Washington.

Rep. Clifford Allen, "A Common Sense Approach to the Farmers' Problem." Congressional Record (January 30, 1978), p. E 247.

44. While reductions in output were not achieved, millions were delivered to farmers Ford (Political Economics of Rural Poverty) contends there was unbelief and surprise at Michale Harrington's (The Other America) labelling of the poverty in rural places as

the "harshest and most bitter poverty in existence was one of 'surprise and disbelief.'" After all, with the millions of tax transfers, deductions, and research and development expenditures in the name of agricultural programs for farm operators and rural populations, the question of "how could there be any rural poor?" seemed reasonable. If the casual observer should consult a phone book, it would seem that rural problems have long since been beaten into abeyance if not outrightly solved to whatever extent public agencies could effect a solution. Under USDA, for example, one finds circa forty numbers in the Jackson, Mississippi phone book. Rural housing, farmer programs, community programs, special projects, and engineers are among the titles listed for one agency. According to Van Gorder,

> The fewer the farmers there are to serve, the more money and people it takes to do it. The fewer the chicks the bigger the government brooder. Soon there may be more people in the USDA farming the farmers than there are people farming the land
>
> Already--and we've seen only the beginning unless there is a tremendous reversal in our headlong rush to collectivism--the government spends more on agriculture, per farmer, than most farmers make from farming.

Ill Fares the Land, p. ix.

45. Micha Gisser, "Needed Adjustments in the Labor Supply," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (November, 1968), p. 806. Van Gorder has suggested that naturally "most people mistakenly assume that, just because our government has spent more on the farm program since 1932 than on anything else except Defense, the farmers have gotten the benefits. The farmers -- particularly the little ones who needed help most -- have received crumbs from the table." He states,

> Farming is now a business for those who produce the products and a way of life for the phonies who farm the farmers. Billions of dollars have been stolen from the American taxpayer "to help the poor little farmer," but the poor little farmer got virtually none of it. For when the government gravy bowl runneth over, the bureaucrats have all the spoons and the poor little farmers have only forks. But, hundreds of millions of the taxpayers' dollars have been given to rich absentee landlords who cultivate nothing but the ASC /Agricultural Stablization and Conversation Service/ offices.

Ill Fares the Land, p. ix.

46. J.L. Hendrick, "Effects of the Price - Support Program for Peanuts on the Sale Value of Farms," Journal of Farm Economics, 44 (December, 1962), pp. 1749-1753; R. Herdt and W.W. Cochrane, "Farm Land Prices and Farm Technological Advance," Journal of Farm Economics, (48), pp. 243-264.

V.W. Ruttan, "Agricultural Policy in An Affluent Society," Journal of Farm Economics, 48 (December 1966), p. 1107.

47. RECEIVED BENEFITS TO BUSINESS PERSONS WITH INVESTMENTS IN SPECIFIED AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES, COURTESY OF TAXES ON THE PUBLIC, TENDERED AS PRICE SUPPORTS AND DIRECT PAYMENT SUBSIDIES, BY CROP AND SIZE OF RECIPIENT, 1964 AND 1971.

	Largest 20%		Smallest 20%	
Crop	1964	1971	1964	1971
Rice	65	59	1.0	2.0
Wheat	63	71	3.0	4.2
Cotton	69	72	1.8	2.5
Peanuts	57	72	3.8	2.3
Tobacco	53	47	3.9	7.6
Corn	--	45	2.1	---

Source: Marshall, Rural Workers, p. 34

48. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty, p. 50. The benefit of such programs accrues disporportionately to larger farmers having more to sell. In addition, "the large farmer can better afford the legal costs of getting the maximum benefit from other parts of the program. Notoriously, every year, a considerable number of farms or "farm corporations" receive more than $100, 000 apiece, and a few receive more than $1 million in benefits from a program supposedly set up to help the poor farmers." David Friedman, The Machinery of Freedom: Guide to Radical Capitalism (New Rochell, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978), pp. 29-30.

49. Ibid., p. 30. This is not to deny some poor people have not received some benefit. Marshall states that "By subsidizing land and capital, agricultural programs gave advantages to farmers with much capital and land relative to those who primarily had labor. This is not to deny that agricultural policies have had some beneficial effects on small farmers .." The Rural Worker, pp. 34-35. Doubtless there have been benefits in terms of agricultural production, farmer adaptable practices and procedures, etc. However, Marshall's statement that "to the extent that subsidies were capitalized, the system sustained land values and made it possible for small farmers to minimize their losses from shifting out of subsidized agriculture" was a desirible effect

seems of questionable policy merit and of highly debatable consequence to whatever extent it may be accurate in fact. Delta cotton farmers in Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana received price support payments in 1963 wherein the top 10% received 58% of the emoluments and the top 1% received 21% of the emoluments, according to Ray Marshall, The Rural Worker, p. 53.

50. Ford. Political Economics of Rural Poverty in the South.

51. Vernon W. Ruttan, "Agricultural Policy in an Affluent Society," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (December, 1966), p. 1116.

52. For discussion of the causative relationship of corporate run agricultural enterprises on the character of social relationships and the quality of life in rural communities, see Walter Goldschmidt, As You Sow: Three Studies in the Social Consequences of Agribusiness (Montclair: Allanheld, Osmon). Sen. Gaylord Nelson states in the foreword to the Allanheld, Osmon edition that "It is the government...that has 'largely sponsored' the erosion of the 'family farm'." Corollary and perhaps equally hienous is the structural development wherein one must be a member of a farm family or otherwise extremely wealthy to become a farmer. To whatever extent government has prompted agricultural investment for tax avoidance, has encouraged agricultural expansion for pecuniary purposes among the agriculturally, financially or familiarly privileged, or has been a party to increased land prices, it has contributed to disfranchisement from agricultural opportunity.

53. Walter Goldschmidt, "A Tale of Two Towns," in The People's Land, pp. 171, 175.

54. Hightower points out that replacement of competition with cooperation and coordination will cause "agricultural efficiency to decline as market concentration enables food companies to pass on to consumers the cost of inefficiencies and excess profits." The added costs of concentration will be "rung up on the consumer's tab at the checkout counter." He claims "packaging and advertising of food are becoming more important pricing factors than the food itself." Already "food corporations have become the biggest spenders on television advertising." Jim Hightower, "The Industrialization of Food," in The People's Land, pp. 80-85. As Hapgood has pointed out, the poor have been slugged by farm subsidies each time they sat themselves at a table. In keeping with the general policy of encouraging monopoly, the federal government in recent years has helped a few huge food companies gain control over agricultural markets that once were highly competitve. The resulting monopoly pricing of domestic food plus government subsidized export sales were the root causes of the abrupt rise in food prices in 1973-74. The subsidies (direct to farmers, which were limited by 1973 legislation) were no longer

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needed - it was possible to screw the consumer without them. Hapgood, The Screwing of the Average Man, p. 270.

Clifford has stated:

> If the giant corporations gain a monopoly in the agribusiness--if that happens--the consumers, the housewives, and others should be made aware of what else will happen.
>
> The prices of farm produce, groceries, clothing, and all the other things fabricated from products of the soil, will skyrocket just like the price of gas and oil and electricity, and all the other things where the market is controlled by monopolies, whose primary interest is profit and how much they can extract from the consumer.

Congressional Record (January 30, 1978), E 245. Whle there might be some agruable structural benefit to individually owned farm enterprises, many of these are family farm corporations which are themselves interested in becoming as large as possible and, under such structure, are as effective in disfranchising those who are not physicians or who did not chose a ancestral line of landed progenitors. At least corporations, in a theoretical sense, have many owners; and a person who owns a share in Tenneco has more "ownership" than he does in someone else's "family farm." The four decades of farm policy which have fostered agriculture as the increasingly special province of the wealthy, it should be remembered, was justified in the name of the "family farmer." While the emotional image of "the farm" is that which current urban dwellers were happy to escape - the facts of life at the direct level in the 1930s and 1940s - the contemporary "small" or "family farmer" is able to project an image of merit, mystique, and sympathy while he sits on thousands of dollars of capital investment, and enjoys everything plus that his urban counterparts enjoy. A farmer with thousands of dollars of capital worth (which he may have inherited, or purchased, at a time when the goal of obtaining space for living and independence was possible without a physicians income), adequate house, late model vehicles, tractor(s), etc. is not "poor," and is not a "small" farmer, regardless of how minute the amount of "profit" or "income" he may be able to claim in justifying umbilical attachment to public largesse. This "small farmer" is not necessarily a farmer; his "family farming" may be family in the same sense of Ford Motor Co. being a "family" corporation.

Apt illustration is provided by the "farmers" who were able to drive expensive machinery on "strikes" and protests in 1978 because of "low" farm prices. Apparently, the farm prices were adequate to justify their cavorting on machinery whose purchase the average person could hardly contemplate making , much less the land on which to utilize it. Yet the latter was supposed to provide further opulence to the agriculturally privileged.

Food is not provided courtesy of farmers. Farming, to a large extent has become a rich man's business by persons, who if not rich independently of their farming interests, are such by fact of farm possession. And, as privilege gravitates to the privileged, there appears to be a corollary expectation of even greater privilege. Thus we find such signs as "Don't Complain With Your Mouth Full," but none about "Don't Complian About 'Low' Farm Prices if You're Driving a Workable Tractor Around Your Acerage." The public has come to accept and acquiesce to homage to the agricultural owner as their due, and the recipients not only expect it, but wish it increased. As the serf paid homage to manor lord who extracted his product, grateful to be allowed to exist and serve the lord so it would seem from some indices of public and media reflection, it is the public who should be grateful to the farm sector rather than vice visa, e.g., allowing the farm sector its opulence to the disadvantage of those disenfranchised from agricultural benison.

In recent years there has arisen some articulated concern about the "small" or "family farmer." Yet, there is a danger that failure to scrutinize this "small" or "family power" and the comparative economic leverage and advantage he wields and of developing yet another wave of assault on opportunity of entry and a yeomanry or agrarian thrust to farming by the same genre of politicians, having structured the corporate serving political system which they now lament, have emerged as spokesman for "small farmers" as against corporations. They now lament the plight of "farmers" who must again receive public succor because they would like to milk a cow and make a claim against the public above the market value of their product for doing so.

Therefore, according to Rep. Clifford Allen (Congressional Record, Jan. 30, 1978, E245-247) "it is time...to realize and appreciate the fact that those who have invested their money /we'll be kind enough not to ask from which tax programs they got it/, and who toil on the farms from sunup to sundown /presumably, unlike many less fortunate, not having to fight freeway traffic/, are entitled to share fairly /fairly apparently is not the actual market value of their altruistic largesse/ in the wealth which they have produced" Ibid., E 245

The very structure of political creation wherein "all of the tenant farmers and sharecroppers and their families who were driven off the farms by these billions and billions of dollars spent by the Federal Government to entice landowners, many of them large corporations, to take their land out of cultivation" (E247) and wherein "big corporations...are buying up more and more of the productive farmland of the Nation" (E245) is now recognized as the necessitating cause for "affirmative action," this time really in the actual interest of "bona fide independent, family farmers and farm operators" (E245), avoiding "the administrative blunders and mistakes which have characterized this Nation's agricultural programs in the past (E245) which "turned out to be counterproductive, and in some cases an outright catastrophe" (E246).

The "do something for the farmers" which the federal government must do, according to Rep. Allen, is to achieve a false price for agricultural products (called a "fair" price by Allen) the same as it has done "for factory workers... through minimum wage laws, and what it has done for big business and the giant utilites" (E245). This, according to Allen, "without raising prices in grocery stores" by paying the agriculturally privileged sector a politically set false price irrespective of the lower market value of their production. Hopefully, it would not "not increase prices" the same way the minimum wage has not increased poverty and unemployment. The term "parity" is frequently used as apparently employed by Rep. Allen, i.e., as synonymous with "fairness and equity" (E246), though this is a constructional misnomer insofar as it applies to the development of "parity" as a base price for farm products relative to nonfarm goods. For a similar expression of the need to protect "family farming" by the policies which destroyed its viability, complete with general accoutrements of postering -- higher emoluments for the agriculturally privileged, subsidies, payments for nonproduction, "parity," (applied by the author as what one requires to profitably remain in business), see Timothy Miller, "Ethics, Economics and the Farm Protest," Christian Century (June 21-28, 1978), pp. 644-646. This, with understanding of the magnitude and opulence of the "family farming" to benefit thereby:

> Farmers forced out of business are really not hurt too badly. In a typical example, a large-scale family farmer today might have assets in the vicinity of $500,000 and debts of perhaps $350,000. When the banker sells the farm the family stands to pocket a chunk of money large enough so that they could live fairly comfortably the rest of their lives on the income.

Ibid., p. 646

It is for "justice, and for simple economic self-interest, we must move quickly to preserve family farming," states Miller, lest those possessed of such opulence they could live comfortably by "putting their net worth in the bank and sitting at home" (their very opulence being a reason why they require even greater tribute)

> will cease to be conservative Republicans and will act radically and collectively in their own self-interest...they could quickly solve their problems--and the end result, again, would be drastically higher prices for consumers, as well as the destruction of the last segment of the American economy in which millions of fiercely independent small businesses dominate the field...they are quickly learning

> a lot about the tactics -- and the impact -- of direct action, much as the New Left was learning the same things a decade ago. Just in the past few months some of them have learned that they can shut down a packinghouse or a warehouse or a grain elevator with just a few pickets or even a few implicit threats.

Ibid., p. 645

"Your baby needs milk, you say? Sorry, the farmers are on strike" is the alleged prospect "If we /the nonagriculturally franchised who can exercise neither choice of putting assets in a bank and living comfortably by sitting and enjoying the interest nor of effectuating "the mystical attraction farmers feel for the land and for their work"/ don't take the necessary actions to shore up family farming "by entering into programs of greater servitude to pacify those who can.

There is, perhaps, some considerable irony in the idiom of persuasion which, in this instance, recognize the value of wealthy "small" businessmen of "fiercely independent small businesses" /somehow, the "strike" by farmers is a quest for justice and equity rather than the more pejoratively evaluated projections of status-frustrated marginal entrepreneurs whose arrested psycho-sexual development and viscereal prejudices are projected onto an encompassing conspiracy of corporations, or the outward projections of inward conflicts by acquisitive and capitalistic landowners threatened by a world over which they are losing autonomy of control and which they cannot understand/, which finds a combination of maximal efforts at productivity and profit-making desirable ethic and/or economics, finds the application of Teamster modus operandi both/ either, and admits to seeking immediate price increases to consumers in the interest of longterm supply.

Farm Chemicals magazine, commenting on the 1978 strike of agriculturalists with apparent leisure and money for travel, wrote: "...they stuck it out until the first day that they could get into the fields. It was more fun to strike than it was to sit around the pool hall..." "Farmers' strike? What strike?" *Farm Chemicals*, 141 (June, 1978), p. 18. "The farmer of the 1970s," stated this editorial, "is keenly aware of his importance to you...he is determined to make a good thing out of it, one which gives a return on his investment (sic) and labor as great as that in industry." To which one might add, in such cases "farmers" should enter industry and enjoy the "essential and noble enterprise" of production there. A farm, said the Agrarian Andrew Lytle, "is a place to grow corn, not to grow rich." Andrew Lytle, "The Hind Tit," in *I'll Take My Stand*, p. 205.

55. Walter Goldschmidt, "Large-Scale Farming and the Rural Social Structure," *Rural Sociolgy*, 43 (Fall, 1978), p.43. This finding based on

studies made in the 1940s, was allegedly the victim of "shocking efforts made to sabotage and suppress" the comparative study by the "New Deal" government, and was published eventually through the intervention of Sen. Murray's Special Committee on Small Business. Cf.: R S. Kirkendall, Social Scientists and Farm Politics in the Age of Roosevelt (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966). Ibid., p. 365. It might be noted that recently accruing recognition of the harm that has been done by government agriculture programs notwithstanding, government is now being called on to aid "small" farmers (which supposedly was the objective and overarching justification of programs allegedly doing the harm those concerned with yeoman access to agrarian opportunity. Even the rural sociology/cooperative extension/AES research industry has felt the pressure to effectuate concern for the "small farmer." Belatedly, they have decided that effectuation of "concern of Extension and Research for small farming as a way of life..." is new train which the industry may be able to ride. A "small farms feature issue" of Rural Development Research and Education (Southern Rural Development Center), I (Summer, 1977), has various articles focusing on "small farmers." One article points out that "in general farmers in the South are more satisfied than dissatisfied with their quality of life," that "the agricultural situation has improved during the past decade," and "two-thirds feel the situation is currently good despite low income." The conclusion of this assessment, however, is: "Providing means for improving incomes and earning their trust are the biggest challenges facing those who serve farm people today and desire to assist them to improve the quality of life." P. 4. Why this, rather than strategic retreat and withdrawal of harassment is in order is not immediately clear unless the thrust of presence to "improve incomes" is necessary motif required as a function of the occupation of the community specialist specializing in raising the incomes of a class in which it is now in the interest of agricultural soft-ware research industry (sociologists and related accoutrements) to bring within their vocabularies of motive.

A second article calls for a barrage programs of "leadership and guidance for small farmers" utilizing "paraprofessionals" (there are "professionals" in agriculture?) to "reach" more small farmers for the money." Pp. 5-6. Another is concerned with natives who are reluctant to adopt and apply remedies which "would help them realize larger incomes." Evangelization for adoption of income salvation by "increasing farm incomes among limited - resource farmers," it is claimed. "may require new educational and technical assistance methods" for answers to questions on how to best evangelize--oops, "serve" small farmers. p. 9. In addition, "public investments in improvement of their farming systems" are suggested as an obstacle overcoming technique wherein those who do not have land can deliver additional emoluments to those who do.

A testimonial by a former sharecropper who now farms a total of around 400 acres complete with "fine brick home, two brick tenant houses, and a farmyard full of machinery" provides "the word from a man who has 'been there and come up.'" A cotton share-crop-per, the heroine learned brick masonry, bought 18 acres, and expanded from there. There is, perhaps, good policy advice in his suggestion that with AES, SCS, FHA, PCA, etc. there are *already* "plenty of resources avialble..." p. 10. It may be that his success reflects the opportunity of the past, and the tragedy of the present, in terms of opportunity for land purchase and entry? "An effective small farm program requires an in-depth understanding of...implementation, monitoring, and program evaluation," (p.26) affirms one purveyor, while another claims that "Only through total commitment can the welfare of the small farm family be improved" (p. 6), to which one is tempted to borrow a phrase from Schultz's "Charlie Brown", "'good grief.'"

56. For example, see John Faulkner, *Dollar Cotton*: David Cohn, *Where I was Born and Raised*; William A. Percy, Lanterns on the Levy; Holmes Adams, "Writers of Greenville, Mississippi, 1915-1950," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 32 (August, 1970), pp. 229-244.

57. D.C Mosely and C.C. Williams, *An Analysis and Evaluation of a Community Action Anti-Poverty Program in the Mississippi Delta* (State College: Mississippi State University, College of Business and Industry, 1967), p. 1.

58. William L. Giles, "The Agricultural Revolution in the Delta," *Journal of Mississippi History*, 31 (May, 1969), p. 87.

59. Sollie's analysis of tenure and land ownership indicated that in Sharkey County, where the rate of farm family poverty was highest in 1959, only 25.4% of the farm operators were owners. The rate of ownership in the county with the lowest rate of farm family poverty (Jackson) was over ninety percent. Carlton R. Sollie, *Family Poverty in Mississippi: Extent, Distribution and Related Factors*, (State College: Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 21, 1969), p. 17. "Family Poverty in Mississippi...is most likely found among Negroes in rural areas of the Delta..." *Ibid*., p. 47.

60. Virlyn Boyd and Carolyn A. Morgan, *Synthesis of Findings from Southern Regional Cooperative Research Project S-44: Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in Low-Income Rural Areas of the South*, (Clemson University, Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, n.d.).

61. The Delta was an area where large numbers of black tenants were employed in cotton production. So intense was the cultivation that the pictures of tenant houses with cotton growing almost to the doorstep (no space to waste for individual gardens) is a revealing portrait of the distinct lack of enlightenment by which some practices were conducted. "Agricultural revolution in the Delta resulted from the efforts of many indi-

viduals working toward the common objective of greater efficiency...planters, scientists, and extension workers. Farm equipment manufacturers and the chemical industry have played major roles in moving technology forward...dependable sources of credit have been essential to finance machines and the application of practices." So great have been the accomplishments born of this "cooperation and understanding" that "capital investment on a Delta farm is nearly twice the investment per worker in industry. A two-row picker...costs $22,000." Giles, "The Agricultural Revolution in the Delta," pp. 86-87.

62. Sollie, *Land Tenure Patterns and Use*, p. 6.

63. While there might not be much advantage to local marketing of produce grown on gigantic farms, particularly if this proved to be so profitable as cause such enterprises to expand or shift the thrust of production and marketing toward serving capital intensive production rather than small farm production (particularly if there is no actual market basket *price reduction* to the consumer below that available from items shipped cross-continment and sold locally). Retailers may often prefer the advantage of surety and uniformity of mass produced and packaged items. However, there would appear to be some competitive advantages in the development of outlets for local production which could develop new opportunities for production, and decrease costs to consumers. For example, given the current price of green beans, peas, potatoes, tomatoes, okra, etc., the question might be raised as to whether small farmers might produce such commodities for local consumption (or even export consumption) at lower prices than otherwise available to consumers *if* marketing channels are developed. Implicit in the approach recommended is the suggestion of production to service consumer needs at *lower* prices (and thereby providing simultaneous opportunity for increasing renumerative opportunities for small farm operations); the approach is not necessarily bottomed on the premise of increasing farm income by obtaining higher prices or by encouraging capital intensification.

64. Ford, *Political Economics of Rural Poverty*.

65. *Ibid*., p. 90

66. R.H. Day, "The Economics of Technological Change and the Demise of the Sharecropper," *American Economic Review*, 37 (June, 1967), pp. 427-449; H. Dillingham and D. Sly, "The Mechanical Cotton-Picker, Negro Migration and the Integration Movement," *Human Organization*, 25 (Winter, 1966), pp. 344-351.

67. These effects and their implications are clearly delineated in Findley, *The Federal Farm Fable*, and Van Gorder *Ill Fares the Land*.

68. Breimyer, "Changing American Farm," p. 22.

69. In general, tax regulations have worked to the competitive disadvantage of the traditional family farm. A self-financed human being "cannot compete with a 'tax loss' nonfarm investor who can absorb an operating loss in farming as a write-off from tax obligations in his other undertakings." Breimyer, "Changing American Farm," p. 199.

70. Goldschmidt, p. 175.

71. Peter Barnes, "Buying Back the Land," in *The People Land*, pp. 228-234. Cf.: L.G. Liguitti and John C. Rowe, *Rural Roads to Security* America's Third Struggle for Freedom (Milwaukee, 1940), and Frank L. Owsley, "Pillars of Agrarianism," *American Review* (March, 1935 excerpted in Van Sickle, *Planning for the South*, pp. 80ff.

72. While "land price inflation yields a bonanza return to present owners," it "moves it out of the reach of...would-be farmers (or any other human beings) of modest means, and attracts speculative buyers and particularly those aided by tax shelter. And insofar as land is assessed for taxes at higher than its farming value, it is driven out of ownership by operating farmers (or would-be farmers)..." Breimyer, "Changing American Farm," p. 198.

73. Jefferson opined:

> Legislators cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property, only taking care to let their subdivisions go hand in hand with the natural affections of the human mind. The descent of property of every kind therefore...is a politic measure, and a practicable one. Another means of silently lessening the inequality of property is to exempt all from taxation below a certain point, and to tax the higher portions of property in geometrical progression as they rise.

74. Jim Hightower and Susan DeMarco, "The Land Grant College Complex," in *The People's Land*, p. 90. Hightower and DeMarco note that "If mechanization research has been a boom to agribusiness, it has been a bane to millions of rural Americans." They add that "There is nothing inevitable about agribusiness domination of agriculture." *Ibid.*, pp. 92-95. Rodale notes that "A continuation of present land-grant college actions and philosophy will insure that there is no alternative to the destructive course of U.S. Agriculture." Robert Rodale, "Organic Technology," *Ibid.*, p. 99.

75. "At a time when poor Southerners are starting to earn a living growing labor intensive specialties like okra, tomatoes, sweet potatoes and cucumbers...USDA is developing strains of the same vegetables which can be harvested mechanically." Nick Kotz, "The Poor People's Co-ops," in *The People's Land*, p. 206.

76. Reduced cost technology refers to the development of machinery which is marketed at less cost and thus can be more reasonably available to purchasers without the requisite of extensive volume sales and capitalization. The branch experiment stations might well serve as rental centers for more expensive equipment among small scale farmers and gardeners by renting equipment to them at daily costs which would allow the advantages of technology to be utilized on acreages which are not large enough to allow individual investment in expensive equipment.

77. K. Starks and S. Plaxico, "Age of Oklahoma Farm Land Owners... And Associated Capital Requirements," *Current Farm Economics*, 51 (June, 1978), p. 9.

78. S.L. Comer and R. Woodworth, "Looking At Small Farmers' Options," *Rural Development Research and Education*, I (Summer, 1977), p. 15.

79. "The land-grant movement," states one commentator, "has enhanced the need (sic) for a highly developed, commercial type of agriculture...The well lubricated, commercial, agricultural machine turns out adequate and even surplus agricultural products." Now that success has been attained, there is little need to promote commercial farming "to help (sic) rural people become more productive members of a growing society." Now, it seems, it is the "individual" who is to become the "primary concern." Because "our society and its needs have changed dramatically in the last two decades," it should now be recognized "that extension obligations are no longer intended for the commercial farmer only." William K. Waters, "So What Can We Do To Help the Small Farmer?" *Rural Development Research and Education* 1 (Spring, 1978), p. 19. "Most of us," the above writer admits, "are geared to making recommendations which we feel will keep a farming operation profitable. There may be and often are goals other than profit suitable to a farmer's needs..." *Ibid.* One wonders whether the new posture is an effort to compensate for past misfeasance in the promotion of commercial modern big income agriculture or whether the dragon of "efficient" i.e., capital intensive, agribusiness enterprise, having now been developed beyond the need for further exclusively focused servicing, has left its education, extension, and research promoters in need of new areas of action with a resulting

> ...growing concern for the small farmer, his living standard, and his opportunities. *It is obvious that Cooperative Extension will have to get in step with this growing concern...*

Ibid., p. 20. Perhaps it is possible to be cynical in a fashion more caustic than really required. Yet, perhaps, there may be reason as well as cynicism in the maxim of Greek's bearing gifts, and in the advisory caveat of Thoreau, or perhaps it was Arthur Fonzarelli, "when you see someone approaching for the obvious intent of doing you good, run for your life." Four decades ago Andrew Lytle spoke of advice from the enemy in the guise of ostensible strengthening forces--"industrialize the farm; drop old-fashioned ways and adapt scientific methods" recommending that farmers abandon the agrarian and become absorbed within the commercial system. Only then would farmers be "productive" purchasers of the products of business and industry. "Such admonition coming from the quarters of the enemy," he wrote, "is encouraging to the landowner in one sense only: it assumes he has something left to steal. Andrew Lytle, "The Hind Tit," p. 204. Of course, this insight _may_ have no relation whatsoever to the interest now emerging in the "limited resources farmer."

80. Sherry Stern, "Rural Poor Helped to a Harvest of Pride," (Tuscon) _Arizona Daily Star_ (May 18, 1978), in Community Services Administration, _News Clippings_ 78-21 (June 2-9, 1978); "Vegetable Gardens for Poor," _Savannah (Ga.) News_ (April 30, 1978), _Ibid._, Operation of garden markets seems to be a worthy activity that might be sponsored by Community Action Agencies, possibly without any increase in funding. "Gardners Wanted for Produce Market," _Longview_ (Wash.) _News_ (May 17, 1978); "Thousands of Low Income Atlantans Tilling Soil," _Atlanta Daily World_ (June 1, 1978), _Ibid._
This idea seems to be caputred in the Tool Lending Library program in Atlanta wherein power tools are made available for loan through the Atlanta Public Library System. Any adult who holds an active Atlanta library card may borrow tools. The library also provides instructional brochures and leaflets which may be checked out with the tools. A series of instructional video tapes is also avilable. "Do It Yourself!" _Impact_ (City of Atlanta Community Development Publication of the Department of Community and Human Development), Issue No. 6 (November, 1978).

81. F.A.R.M., "Food Fair," n.d. Farmers' Association for Retail Marketing was organized by farmers and gardeners concerned with the lack of market alternatives for small producers" who have developed mechanisms for direct consumer-producer marketing. Cf.: Jeri Barr, "Farmers' Markets," _Food Monitor_ (Setember, 1977), pp. 16-17.

82. Michael Scully, "New Englanders Fight Food Dependence," Reprinted from _These Times_, 1 (January 19-25, 1977).

83. Bonnie Riechert, "Roadside Markets Offer Quality Produce at Competitive Prices," _The Paper_ (University of Ga. AES), 42 (November, 1977), p. 1,2; E. Brown, "An Economic Analysis of Roadside Marketing in Georgia," University of Ga. AES Research Report No. 254, 1977.

84. "Greenmarket..." Council on the Environment, 51 Chambers St., Room 228, NYC.

85. Glenn C. Van Bramer, "Agrarianism in an Urban Age," Third National Conference on Rural America, December 5-7, 1977.

86. The Institute for Local Self Reliance, 1717 18th. St. NW, Washington D.C. The Institute of Local Self Reliance, founded by Karl Hess, a Goldwater theoretician and author of A Cause That Will Triumph, is "committed to exploring the potential for self-reliance, not of individuals or of nations, but of humanly scaled cooperative communites, of neighborhoods and cities. It is on this level that people have the intellectual, financial, human and political resources to make significant advances in the direction of community self-sufficiency; and it is on this level, also, that organized groups of people can take control over their own lives and wealth and begin to effect a transition away from the concentration of political and economic power which characterizes American democracy." Ibid.

Similarly, gardening by urban residents on vacant lots, ditch right-of-ways, roofs, containers, yards has the demonstrated potential of encouraging "limited income families to grow their own vegetables and hedge against the economic consequences of government inflationary policy. Horticulture programs can be of therapeutic value to limited capacity persons." See C. Brickner, "Detroiters "Dig" Growing Roots;" W. Carnahan, "Urban Gardening - 'Not Just Vegetables;'" B. Jones, "Harvest of Hope;" W. Sullins, "Planting For People," Extension Service Review (January-February, 1978), pp. 4-13.

Robinson notes that a Bronx CAA is helping turn "dozens of devastated acres into green sanctuaries" by aerating decaged vegetables as compost for use as topsoil in urban vegetable gardens. Donald Robinson, "Wake Up To The 'Nightmare' at CSA," Readers' Digest (December, 1978), p. 144.

87. Much of the cooperative movement, as desirable as it may be and have been, has been in the form of a conspiracy by farmers to raise prices rather than in the more desirable form of achieving lower prices for consumers. For discussion of a consumer program, see Virginia Drewry, "From Buying Clubs to Regional Networks," Self-Reliance (July-August, 1977).

88. Ford, Political Economics of Rural Poverty.

89. C.E. Bishop, "The Urbanization of Rural America: Implications for Agricultural Economics," Journal of Farm Economics, 49 (December, 1967), p. 1006.

90. Naylor and Clotfelter, p. 279.

91. Ill Fares the Land, p. viiii.

92. "Industrial Development--What It Takes to Make It Happen," in Impact of Industrial Development on Selected Iowa Communities (Des Moines: Iowa Center for Regional Progress Project No. RA-57-D, for Iowa Development Commission, 1972), pp. 1-2.

93. R. Shaffer, "Estimating the Economic Spillovers of New Industry " (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Department of Agricultural Economics, Cooperative Extension Programs, 1973).

94. P.L. Daniel and D.C. Williams, *Some Factors Inhibiting Industrial Growth and Development in Mississippi* (Hattiesburg: University of Southern Mississippi, Bureau of Business Research, 1968).

95. Dorothy Dickens, *The Rural Family and Its' Source of Income* (State Colelge: MAES Bulletin 481, 1951). John Crecink and Hoobert Heever, *Incomes and Resources of Rural Families in the Clay-Hills Area of Mississippi* (State College: MAES Bulletin 604, 1960), A.W. Baird and W. Bailey, *Farmers Moving Out of Agriculture* (State College: MAES Bulletin 568, 1958).

96. D.E. Alleger, "Retiring on a Small Farm," *Sunshine State Agricultural Research Report* (Gainsville: Florida AES, 1963); O. Dahlke and H. Stoneciper, "A Wartime Back-to-Land Movement "Many Farmers Hold Part-Time Jobs," *Rural Development Research and Education Advance*, 1 (Summer, 1977), p. 25; F. Murray and Milton Coughenour, "Who Is The Small Farmer?," *Rural Development Research and Education*, 1 (Summer, 1977), p. 4; Milton Coughenour and Anne Gabbard, *Part-time Farmers in Kentucky in the Early 1970's The Development of Dual Careers* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, Department of Sociolgy, AES), 1977.

97. John A. Kuehn and Curtis Braschler, *New Manufacturing Plants in the Nonmetro Ozarks Region* (Washington: ERS, USDA, AER No. 384, 1977), p. iv.

98. Gene F. Summers,*Large Industry in a Rural Area: Demographic, Economic and Social Impacts* (Madison University of Wisconsin, Working Paper RID 73.19, 1973), pp. 1,2.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 30

100. While attraction of high wage industry is often cited as the curative for the economic ills of a depressed area, Colberg has cautioned that this is a dangerous fallacy which neglects the important concept of comparative advantage. Areas with large surpluses of ordinary labor require the types of industry that employ much ordinary labor at rates of pay which will be well below that of industries where skill requirements are high. Thus, Colberg, states, "truly labor intensive rather than human capital intensive industry is needed by many communities." Marshall R. Colberg, *Human Capital in Southern Development* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), p. 22 Boone and Kurland have observed that the Area Redevelopment Act (ARA) made investment loans primarily to "outsiders," particularly entrepeneurs who were induced by Government subsidized capital loans to locate in areas in which industry was extended tax exemptions. As a result, many new industries created jobs mainly

for outsiders with considerable training, while hardly affecting the poor whose presence formed the basis for ARA eligibility. R.W. Boone and N. Kurland, "A Look at Rural Poverty," *New Generation*, 50 (Summer, 1968), pp. 2-5. Hansen has been particularly critical of government policies which sought to stop out-migration by attracting industry to lagging areas as "place" rather than "people" oriented. Niles M. Hansen, "Migration Centers, Growth Centers and the Regional Commissions," *Southern Economics Journal*, 38 (April, 1972), pp. 508-517, and Niles M. Hansen and Richard Yukhin, *Locational Preferences and Opportunity Costs in a Lagging Region* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, EDA Discussion Paper No. 17, 1969).

101. Gene F. Summers and Jean M. Lang, "Bringing Jobs to People: Does It Pay?" *Small Town*, 7 (September, 1976), p.6.

102. E. Grant Youmans, "The Rural Aged " Annals, 429 (January, 1977) p. 86. Cf.: Frank Clemente and Gene F. Summer, "Industrial Development and the Elderly: A Longitudinal Analysis," *Journal of Gerontology*, 28 (1973), pp. 479-83

103. Summers and Lang, p. 8.

104. *Ibid*., p. 11.

105. Michael F. Nolan, review of G. Summers, *et al*, *Industrial Invasion of Nonmetropolitan America, in* *Rural Sociology*, 41 (Winter, 1976), p. 561.

106. *Ibid*., p.5.

107. E. Nolan Waller "Mississippi Industry: Apparel Manufacturing," *Mississippi's Business*, 34 (June, 1976), pp. 1-3 6.

108. Donald R. Kaldor, Ward Waffinghouse Bauder and Marvin Trautwein, *Impact of New Industry on an Iowa Rural Community, Part 1. Farming and Farm Living* (Ames: Iowa Agricultural and Home Economics Experiement Station, 1964), p. 30.

Not everyone regards small-agriculture and widespread ownership and productive opportunity as desirable consequences of policy. The movement into rural areas of factories primarily employing female labor seems to have enabled some households to retain productive contact with the land, or, from a contra policy perspective, it has "retarded adjustments" because it tended to "freeze the husbands in...farming inadequate units." John C. Crecink, *Employment Opportunities in Farming With Varying Levels of Income in the Sand-Clay Hills of Mississippi* (State College: MAES Bulletin 741, 1967).

APPENDIX A: POVERTY AND INFLATION

In numerous ways the fact and existence of inflationary public poli- is being felt by the American people. Its effects are as real as the grocery check-out stand. It is causing lives to be changed in a fashion which gives the nagging feeling that the American Dream is being narrowed even as it becomes more elusive. The cost of necessities--food, shelter, clothing, requisi[illegible]is health care, takes a larger segment of the family budget; the hope of retirement without acute financial fear is fading for many who are witnessing their savings melt away as living expenses soar; taxes hit harder as incomes climb into higher brackets; property assessments jump;[1] interest rates escalate on houses, cars, everything one buys; more wives are forced into the labor market; incomes of the non-governmentally privileged retired are cruelly squeezed; jitters mount as families worry about paying bills, losing jobs, keeping even, coping with increasingly frequent rounds of even higher prices. "Rampaging prices," says a recent report, "are stealing the 'good life" from workers, students, investors, retirees, everyone. It's the top worry in the nation, with more dangers ahead."[2]

Rodgers, in a commentary on America's "inflationary depression" wherein there is combined ostensible prosperity (continued sales and spending even for $30,000 houses and $.30 cokes)[3] with historic high bankruptcy rates, observes a widespread feeling of insecurity and fear of the future. Furthermore, "double digit inflation has so distorted economic values and has created so many maladjustments that it appears almost impossible to sift out of the derbis from its devastation the basis for an orderly plan for restructuring a sound economic order."[4] The result is a cauldron of Brobdingnagian magnitude: insecurity, instability, low productivity, unemployment, low capital expenditures, and many other symptoms (all bad)..."[5]

Whereas the earnings of a typical full time worker rose 43% during 1973-1978, the higher rate of price increases (47%) meant a decline in real purchasing power.[6] A medical bill costing $100 in 1967 would have been $213 in 1977; a $22,000 house, $53,000; $152 per month mortgage payments, $430; $35 a week for groceries for a family of four, $67.[7]

A Mississippi worker earning $10,000 in 1971 would have had to earn $15,200 in 1977 to maintain the same standard of living.[8] Although salaries for beginning public school teachers increased a whopping 40% during this time, real income actually decreased (Table 1).

Inflation, states the CAA (Community Action Agency) Reporter, adversely effects almost everyone, and especially the poor who find it harder than ever to survive while the cost of living goes up. "In fact, with higher inflation, more people qualify as 'poor.' The federally defined poverty line for an urban family of four has increased from $3,968 in 1970 to about $6,190 per year."[9]

Obviously, the effects of inflation are of dramatic, and of drastic, potential and consequence. There is a great deal of confusion about the cause of afflictions which are being suffered by the American people as a result of constantly increasing prices. The prices, however, are a symptom; they are result rather than cause.

Inflation is the Cause of Skyrocketing Prices

Inflation is NOT a price rise. Skyrocketing costs (as prices and wages) are the result of inflation. Nor is inflation a mystery as to etiology. It is not an act of God; nor is inflation the result of a set of interrelated factors; nor is it phenomenon of unknown cause. Inflation is an expansion (inflation) of the money supply. The single, sole, and only villian is government itself, the source of the money supply. Only government, having control of the money supply, can inflate.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN DOLLAR INCOME AND
PURCHASING POWER, MISSISSIPPI, 1971
1976

	DOLLAR INCOME	REAL INCOME
State Government	+32%	- 8%
University Professors	+22%	-14%
Engineers	+42%	- 1%
Public School Teachers	+40%	- 2%
Manufacturing	+46%	+ 3%
Clerical Workers	+50%	+ 3%

1. Jobs in mid-point, Grade II.
2. Associate, State Universities.
3. Beginning, minimum program.
4. Production workers.
5. Private sector.

Source: Estimated from graphed data in Figure 3, "Effect of Inflation on Our Standard of Living," R & D Economic Comment (4/78).

Confusion Between Money and Wealth

Real wealth is that which is produced and consumed (e.g., Afro-Sheen, fried chicken, Right Guard, Charmin, basketballs, tam-o-shanters, vehicles, etc.). Since money (paper with a printed legal tender value) is the medium of exchange, it is easy to understand why money is confused with wealth: "Each man sees that if he personally had more money he could buy more things from others. If he had twice as much money he could buy twice as many things; if he had three times as much money, he would be 'worth' three times as much."

And, it is similarly easy to conclude that "if the government merely issued more money and distributed it...we would all be that much richer."[10] The fallacy is that to increase the amount of money does not increase one's worth, it only increases the amount of money.

It is not the quantity of money which determines the amount of wealth it can command, but it is the quality of the money. Because American currency is deteriorating in quality, we now see persons making amounts of money that would have represented arrival six years ago who not only find that their command over resources (wealth) has not increased proportionately, but that it may have declined, and that survival ("making ends meet") has become more problematic.

The State, by legal tender laws, is able to violate the law of honest weights and measures, issue paper exchange which is not backed by redeemable specie, and force the citizenry to accept a unit of fiat money which is worth less than its face value. Since government is able to expand the money supply at will without regard to specie, it resorts to deficit spending (spending more than it takes in by taxes) to carry out its programs.

> ...money supply gets out of hand because the government needs more and more to carry on more and more projects. Politicians are enamored of voting more money to pay for projects...since this is the way for a politician to get votes...Bureaucrats are eagre to increase their position and power by developing larger and larger organizations...[11]

Government can finance its liberality either by raising sufficient revenue by taxation or by creating money.[12] When it resorts to deficit financing, and creates unbacked money to pay for its programs, this "new" money, as Walton explains,

> ...will pour into the economy. There is no real wealth backing it. It is in essence worthless. But, the government says it is worth 100 cents on the dollar and so we will be forced to accept it at face value. We take our financial licking later when we spend the money and find out its worth maybe twenty cents...in terms of purchasing power.[13]

Government is the Only Source and Cause of Inflation

Inflation is not due to any complicated and disparate assortment of factors and "pressures." Nor is it due to any "wage price spiral". A wage boost beyond the level of marginal labor, apart from political intervention, would lead to unemployment, but not inflation. Increases in prices and costs (including wages) can prompt inflation indirectly only if government increases the money supply to make the increased wages payable.[14] It is the government increase in the money supply which is the inflation. Increases in tribute to unions (wages) and consequent costs of goods will inevitably lead to continuous, progressive inflation when it is political policy to provide enough monetary credit for "full employment" irrespective of the wage level. Neither is inflation caused by a shortage of goods, although such shortgages may cause a price increase in individual products (but not a rise in the general price level).[15]

Wage and price increases are consequences rather than causes of inflation. Businesses cannot print money; nor can ADC recipients, nor can labor, expand the currency. Only government or its designee can do so. Government is the agency of inflation through its monetary policies.[16] The decline in the ability of the dollar to command resources between 1940 and 1976 is shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

PURCHASING POWER OF CONSUMER DOLLAR, 1940-1976 AND 1967-1976

Purchasing Power In	1940 Dollar	Purchasing Power In	1967 Dollar
1940	$1.00	1967	$1.00
1950	.58	1970	.86
1960	.47	1973	.75
1970	.36	1975	.62
1976	.24	1976	.57

Source: Henry Hazlitt, The Inflation Crisis and How To Resolve It (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House, 1978), pp. 19-20.

LESSONS OF THE HYPERINFLATION IN GERMANY

The German inflation 1919-1923 is instructive of what happens when inflation runs full cycle. The collapse of German finance changed the nation into an economic madhouse. Gas bills were thirty times as high as rent costs. Prices were unbelievable. A pound of lard cost 20 million marks. A restaurant menu offered: two orders of roast goose, 160,000,000 marks; vegetables, 39,000,000 marks; tax, 69,000 million marks; plus 20,000,000 marks for service. This would have equaled $131,432,000 American dollars at the time of the first World War.

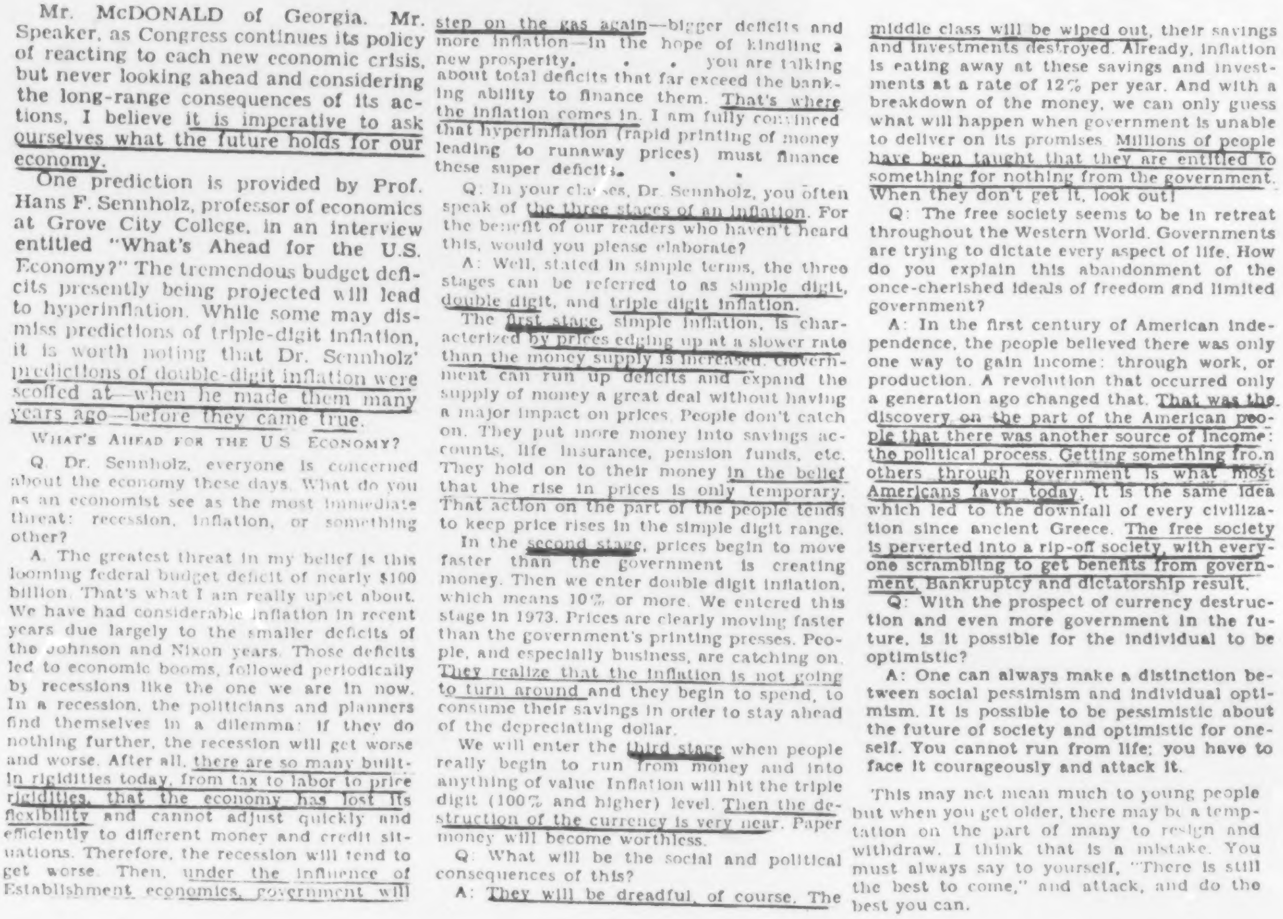
A box of matches sold in stores for 3 million marks; one raw egg, 12 million marks; a quart of milk was 30 million marks on one day and 40 million the next. A six night bill at a leading hotel totaled 2 billion 336 million marks. Everything was normal in 1914. Butter sold for one and one-half marks per pound. By 1918 the price had increased 100% to three marks. Then the problem became uncontrollable. By the spring of 1922, butter was 2,400 marks per pound; 150,000 by summer, and by fall it was six billion marks per pound.[17]

The basis of the German inflation was that "the German government, like others, found it far easier both economically and politically to print money rather than to raise adequate taxes."[18] Hazlitt notes that one of the most disheartening aspects of the German inflation is that "no matter how apalling its consequences became, hyperinflation failed to educate the German monetary economists." The thinking of German leaders and government spokesmen became so corrupted that they inverted cause and effect, and claimed that the rise in prices made it necessary to inflate the availability of money to pay for the goods.

Eventually, the press was literally unable to print money fast enough to keep pace with price increases. The morning of November 1, 1923, "retail traders fixed their prices on the basis of a dollar exchange rate of 130 billion paper marks to one dollar. By afternoon the dollar rate had risen to 320 billion. The paper money that shopkeepers had received in the morning had lost 60 percent of its value!"[19] Money began to be printed on one side only because the ink itself was more valuable than the "money".

FIGURE 1

CAUSE, STAGES, AND CONSEQUENCES OF INFLATION



Mr. McDONALD of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, as Congress continues its policy of reacting to each new economic crisis, but never looking ahead and considering the long-range consequences of its actions, I believe it is imperative to ask ourselves what the future holds for our economy.

One prediction is provided by Prof. Hans F. Sennholz, professor of economics at Grove City College, in an interview entitled "What's Ahead for the U.S. Economy?" The tremendous budget deficits presently being projected will lead to hyperinflation. While some may dismiss predictions of triple-digit inflation, it is worth noting that Dr. Sennholz' predictions of double-digit inflation were scoffed at—when he made them many years ago—before they came true.

What's Ahead for the U.S. Economy?

Q. Dr. Sennholz, everyone is concerned about the economy these days. What do you as an economist see as the most immediate threat: recession, inflation, or something other?

A. The greatest threat in my belief is this looming federal budget deficit of nearly $100 billion. That's what I am really upset about. We have had considerable inflation in recent years due largely to the smaller deficits of the Johnson and Nixon years. Those deficits led to economic booms, followed periodically by recessions like the one we are in now. In a recession, the politicians and planners find themselves in a dilemma: if they do nothing further, the recession will get worse and worse. After all, there are so many built-in rigidities today, from tax to labor to price rigidities, that the economy has lost its flexibility and cannot adjust quickly and efficiently to different money and credit situations. Therefore, the recession will tend to get worse. Then, under the influence of Establishment economics, government will step on the gas again—bigger deficits and more inflation—in the hope of kindling a new prosperity. . . . you are talking about total deficits that far exceed the banking ability to finance them. That's where the inflation comes in. I am fully convinced that hyperinflation (rapid printing of money leading to runaway prices) must finance these super deficits. . . .

Q: In your classes, Dr. Sennholz, you often speak of the three stages of an inflation. For the benefit of our readers who haven't heard this, would you please elaborate?

A: Well, stated in simple terms, the three stages can be referred to as simple digit, double digit, and triple digit inflation.

The first stage, simple inflation, is characterized by prices edging up at a slower rate than the money supply is increased. Government can run up deficits and expand the supply of money a great deal without having a major impact on prices. People don't catch on. They put more money into savings accounts, life insurance, pension funds, etc. They hold on to their money in the belief that the rise in prices is only temporary. That action on the part of the people tends to keep price rises in the simple digit range.

In the second stage, prices begin to move faster than the government is creating money. Then we enter double digit inflation, which means 10% or more. We entered this stage in 1973. Prices are clearly moving faster than the government's printing presses. People, and especially business, are catching on. They realize that the inflation is not going to turn around and they begin to spend, to consume their savings in order to stay ahead of the depreciating dollar.

We will enter the third stage when people really begin to run from money and into anything of value. Inflation will hit the triple digit (100% and higher) level. Then the destruction of the currency is very near. Paper money will become worthless.

Q: What will be the social and political consequences of this?

A: They will be dreadful, of course. The middle class will be wiped out, their savings and investments destroyed. Already, inflation is eating away at these savings and investments at a rate of 12% per year. And with a breakdown of the money, we can only guess what will happen when government is unable to deliver on its promises. Millions of people have been taught that they are entitled to something for nothing from the government. When they don't get it, look out!

Q: The free society seems to be in retreat throughout the Western World. Governments are trying to dictate every aspect of life. How do you explain this abandonment of the once-cherished ideals of freedom and limited government?

A: In the first century of American independence, the people believed there was only one way to gain income: through work, or production. A revolution that occurred only a generation ago changed that. That was the discovery on the part of the American people that there was another source of income: the political process. Getting something from others through government is what most Americans favor today. It is the same idea which led to the downfall of every civilization since ancient Greece. The free society is perverted into a rip-off society, with everyone scrambling to get benefits from government. Bankruptcy and dictatorship result.

Q: With the prospect of currency destruction and even more government in the future, is it possible for the individual to be optimistic?

A: One can always make a distinction between social pessimism and individual optimism. It is possible to be pessimistic about the future of society and optimistic for oneself. You cannot run from life; you have to face it courageously and attack it.

This may not mean much to young people but when you get older, there may be a temptation on the part of many to resign and withdraw. I think that is a mistake. You must always say to yourself, "There is still the best to come," and attack, and do the best you can.

Source: Congressional Record (June 13, 1975), p. 18942.

The Stages of Inflation

The German inflation illustrates the stages through which an economy moves from stability through incipient to hyperinflation.

Stage One. Prices do not increase as fast as the amount of money in circulation. People assume that higher prices of commodities is temporary, hold off buying, and increase savings.

Stage Two. People realize that inflation will continue, and an inflationary psychology develops. As recognition becomes widespread that inflation is definite government policy, there is a hastening to spend money while it still has its value. Prices begin to rise, from moderate to double-digit, triple-digit, and beyond.

The growing realization that inflation will continue itself changes the direction of demand away from thrift toward speculation and luxury spending. To keep meeting union demands,[20] "escalator clauses," "price premiums," "CPI adjustments," all pressure government to accelerate inflation.[21] The rate of inflation cannot be pegged. If officially determined to be 2% per year, union leaders will add 2% to their demands, lending institutions 2% to the interest they would otherwise charge, etc.[22] Creeping inflation will begin to race, and its effect on production and employment disruptive rather than stimulative.

Inflation, when it is expected to accelerate, increases business uncertainty and discourages new investment. The greater the uncertainty, the greater the return required to compensate for that uncertainty. Even if overall profits advance in line with the rate of the inflation, no single producer can be sure how much his costs will rise relative to his prices. Further inflation becomes futile for providing "full employment" when people begin to expect the inflation.

Stage Three. Prices increase faster than the government is able to increase the quantity of money--hundredfold, thousandfold. Eventually, there is a complete breakdown of the currency. It becomes worthless. Holders of goods refuse to take paper money on any terms. The ability of politicians to profit from deliberate inflationary policy (which they are likely to call by some euphemism such as "full employment" policy) has come to an end -- but not until it has accomplished untold destruction.

INFLATION AS DELIBERATE STRATEGY: OUTWORKING OF AN IDEA

Support of government programs apart from support of taxation to pay for them is support of inflation. Politicians do not verbally assert that they are running on platforms of destruction of the currency and its attendant pathologies. However, support of foreign aid, defense, subsidies, etc.. without voting the full measure of taxation necessary to fund them without deficit spending is support of inflation. Consequently, inflation is highly profitable politically. North points out,

> The State's authorities want to expand their area of influence over every area of economic life, and money is the common denominator in every economic transaction in a modern economy. The planners want to spend more, but they fear the reaction at the polls by the public when direct taxes have to be increased to finance the State's new expenditures. Therefore, we see the modern state turning to the creation of money. With the newly created money, the State can buy what it wants from the private sector, while blaming any price increases on selected scapegoats: big business, big labor, Arabs, speculators, and so forth. Until quite recently, this strategy has worked quite well.[23]

Walton states that some of the statesmen who spoke out for monetary discipline and honest currency "were not popular...We will punish them, the voters decided; but they would get the due bill at a later date."[24] Walton had particular reference to the use of inflation for premeditated political purpose requring freedom from the conventional limitations of money.[25] In the 1970s the bill was becoming due in double digit inflation.

The basic idea behind inflation is that of deficit spending wherein the government inflates to make up the deficit. North observes that "The huge deficits of the State's social welfare programs, especially Social Security, guarantee continued money creation. The State does not dare tax directly to cover the multi-trillion dollar expected deficits...Inflation has only just begun. The years of serious inflation lie before us."[26]

CONSEQUENCES AND EFFECTS OF INFLATION

1. Distortion and Misdirection of Employment and Production

As inflation accelerates it becomes impossible for individual producers to anticipate the wage demands or production costs they will face. Some producers will be driven out of business by wages and other costs rising faster than their own selling prices as inflation distorts relative prices and relative wages. Government attempts to mitigate the result of its own monetary misfeasance will create worse distortions (for example, if government attempts "indexing" to pay average wages relative to average prices, it will drive producers who have not been able to raise their prices by average rates out of business).[27]

Dean Rodgers has observed that the blocks of idle machines in the 1930s at the time there was widespread poverty and hunger was to a large extent the result of the loss of money as a predictable standard of value (and thus as a medium of exchange expediting the flow of goods and services) and the consequent unwillingness of those who held money to spend it out of a sense of insecurity for the future.[28]

2. Decline in the Level and the Standard of Living

Overall, during 1970-1971 the per capita increase in nominal income in Mississippi was 82% ($2,281), although real income increased by only $548. Real income for many occupations decreased. The overall rise in real income is at least partially explainable by increased participation of family members in paid work. A Mississippi worker knocking down $10,000 in 1971 needed $15,200 in 1977 to maintain the same standard of living.[29] According to Rep. Robert Dorman

> ...government fiscal policies are making parenthood a state of sacrifice and financial risk. Uncontrolled inflation is a monstrous cruelty to the aged, but it is also a handicap to parenthood. Saving is almost impossible, and circumstances render domestic thrift almost futile. If a young father tries to earn some extra money, he must do so at the cost of his time with his family. And an appalling large number of mothers find they must work in order to make ends meet. Which luxury will parents give their children: new clothes or their own time? Such a choice should not be necessary in our nation, but, tragically, it is.[30]

Inflation destorys the prospect for an improved standard-of-living even as it undermines one's current level-of-living. During the thirty years prior to 1967, the real wages of policemen and elementary school teachers (to take two illustrative lower middle class occupations) increased. Since 1967 they have decreased. Some occupations (professional athletes, athletic coaches, entertainers, federal monopoly, etc.) have increased their real wages. While government figures of wages relative to prices are composite reductions of all prices and wages, all prices and wages do not actually rise at the same rate. One of the evils of inflation is that it redistributes wealth eratically and wantonally, and punishes thrift and saving.

3. Inflation Becomes Self-Perpetuating and Uncontrollable

Once the ominous tide of inflation advances into the second stage, an inflationary bias becomes the dominant force in society.

> ...each passing day some company or some group announces a new price or wage gouge...and labor unions appear to head the list...Four rail unions agreed tentatively... for wage and cost-of-living increases of 35%. The railroads have already about priced themselves out of existence, due in large measure to the insatiable demands of its unions...Northwest Airlines settled its 107 day strike with a reported $10,000-a-year increase per pilot...Inflation has enveloped us...a trip to the grocery store where apples sell for over $3 a dozen --instead of a bushel -- is sufficient to clearly reveal this unfortunate fact.[31]

Dean Rodgers has used the apt term that inflation has metastasized.

4. Destruction of Moral and Intellectual Values

Garet has listed the corollaries of inflation as: 1) loss of popular control of government as it expands explosively ; 2) dependence on government for aid and comfort; 3) eventual "revelry of public money, which for a while seems to cost nobody anything, brings to pass a state of immorality that permeates every level of society.[32] Bresciani-Turroni, writing in 1931 regarding the German inflation, observed that it destoryed moral and intellectual values. It provoked a serious revolution of social classes with a few people accumulating wealth and forming a class of usurpers of national property, while millions were thrown into poverty. It was a distressing preoccupation and constant torment of innumerable families; it poisoned the German people by spreading among all classes the spirit of speculation and by diverting them from proper and regular work, and it was the cause of incessant political and moral disturbance. Hazlitt finds it worth adding that the demoralization and the debasement of the currency of the currency left in its wake the potential for, and was a major factor in, the rise of the Nazis and Hitler into power in 1933.

Inflation is itself an immoral policy. It can be given no more accurate adjectival description than theft. Inflation unleashes social rapacity. Sennholz has observed that "an important spring of action for the transfer society is the desire by most people to get even in the redistribution struggle."

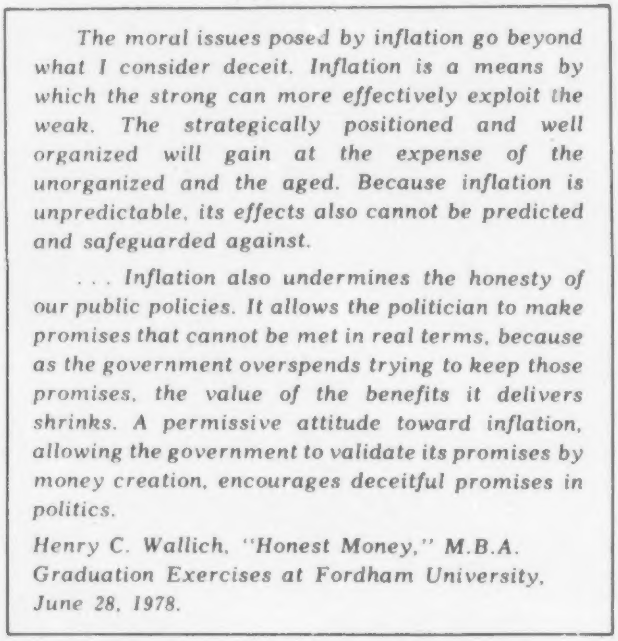
> He who is desirous of "getting even" in the politics of redistribution longs to join the army of beneficiaries who are presently preying on their victims. They would like to get their "money back" from whomever they can find and victimize now...the "get-even" advocate openly defends his motives while he is pursuing his political craft.[33]

Sennholz adds that "the redistributive society has victimized many people through confiscatory taxation, inflation, and regulation." Hazlitt posits a direct chain of causation from "inflation to corruption to crime." Another sympton of moral decay, he feels, "is the increasing frequency of scandal and corruption in government circles." He lists Great Britain, which during most the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was proverbial for the comparative integrity and incorruptibility of its civil servants, as one of the saddest illustrations.[34]

5. Magnification and Compounding of the Problems of the Poor

It is appropriate to style inflation as the greatest enemy of the old since it destroys their lifetime effort in skyrocketing prices. During periods of inflation and decline, states the CAA Reporter, "it is the people on low incomes who suffer most. The substantial rise in consumer prices for the

FIGURE 2



The moral issues posed by inflation go beyond what I consider deceit. Inflation is a means by which the strong can more effectively exploit the weak. The strategically positioned and well organized will gain at the expense of the unorganized and the aged. Because inflation is unpredictable, its effects also cannot be predicted and safeguarded against.

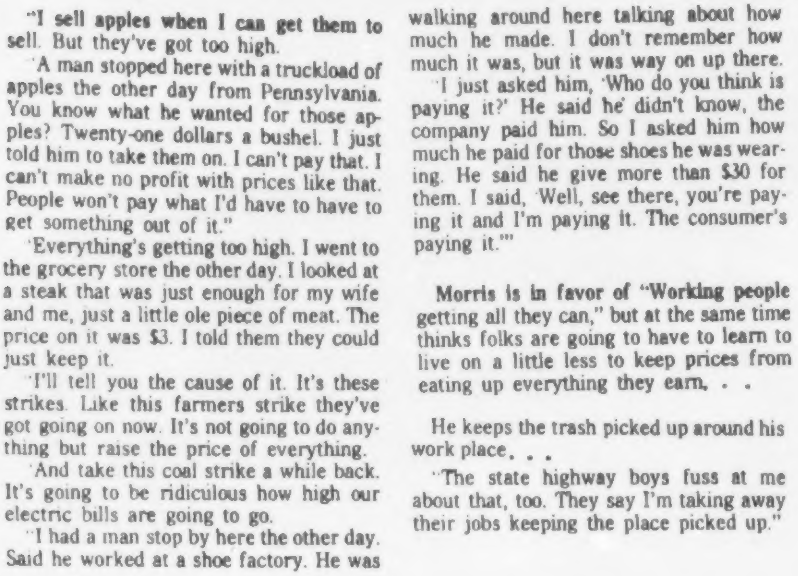
. . . Inflation also undermines the honesty of our public policies. It allows the politician to make promises that cannot be met in real terms, because as the government overspends trying to keep those promises, the value of the benefits it delivers shrinks. A permissive attitude toward inflation, allowing the government to validate its promises by money creation, encourages deceitful promises in politics.

Henry C. Wallich, "Honest Money," M.B.A. Graduation Exercises at Fordham University, June 28, 1978.

Photographically reproduced from The Louisiana Economy, 12 (February, 1979), p. 11.

FIGURE 3

THE POOR SUFFER MOST: THE EXISTENTIAL INFLUENCE OF INFLATION



"**I sell apples when I can get them to** sell. But they've got too high.

"A man stopped here with a truckload of apples the other day from Pennsylvania. You know what he wanted for those apples? Twenty-one dollars a bushel. I just told him to take them on. I can't pay that. I can't make no profit with prices like that. People won't pay what I'd have to have to get something out of it."

"Everything's getting too high. I went to the grocery store the other day. I looked at a steak that was just enough for my wife and me, just a little ole piece of meat. The price on it was $3. I told them they could just keep it.

"I'll tell you the cause of it. It's these strikes. Like this farmers strike they've got going on now. It's not going to do anything but raise the price of everything.

"And take this coal strike a while back. It's going to be ridiculous how high our electric bills are going to go.

"I had a man stop by here the other day. Said he worked at a shoe factory. He was walking around here talking about how much he made. I don't remember how much it was, but it was way on up there.

"I just asked him, 'Who do you think is paying it?' He said he didn't know, the company paid him. So I asked him how much he paid for those shoes he was wearing. He said he give more than $30 for them. I said, 'Well, see there, you're paying it and I'm paying it. The consumer's paying it.'"

Morris is in favor of "Working people getting all they can," but at the same time thinks folks are going to have to learn to live on a little less to keep prices from eating up everything they earn. . .

He keeps the trash picked up around his work place. . .

"The state highway boys fuss at me about that, too. They say I'm taking away their jobs keeping the place picked up."

Source: Carroll Brumfield, "Roadside Vendor Victim of Consumer Price Index," The Commercial Appeal (Memphis, Tn.) (May 1, 1978).

1978-81 period will undoubtedly have the effect of increasing the number of families at near-poverty or below poverty levels." For these already disadvantaged families, "a sustained rise in prices can be particularly crippling, affecting areas of greatest importance to those least able to pay the higher prices."[35]

The above (Figure 3) is illustrative of the affect of inflation--high prices, decreased opportunity, heightened anxiety and concern. Whatever the status of the poor in a time of expanding affluence, it can get worse, not relatively alone, but actually, during inflation. It is also illustrative, though unobtrusively and undramatically, of how interests become antagonistic--individuals and groups seek compensation for inflationary pressure without concern for its effect. It is illustrative of process as well as incident that the apple salesman described above says his wife "wants him to stop, especially now that some people try to steal his fruit and rob him of the money he makes." And illustrative also, is his self-answering rejoinder of its necessity. Inflation is an increase of problems, compounded, in subtle ways as well as more dramatic ones, and they take their toll on quality-of-life and spirit.

CURTAILING INFLATION

Walton has listed those who have the greatest interest in curtailing inflation: "They are 'the forgotten Americans'. The working men and women, *the retired who exist on fixed incomes, the young who desire to look forward to some measure of security without becoming wards of the State, and emerging minorities who want to believe there is still a ladder to climb.*"[36]

Inflation is not an incurable disease. It is not a necessity. It is of internal origin rather than an external visitation. While inflationary policy leads to uncontrollable inflation, such policy itself is not due to an uncontrollable phenomenon such as movement of the anchovie beds or a demand for oil.

Price controls will not exorcise the cause of inflation. At best, they will ensure shortages and queues. There is only one way to stop the inflation and the general rise in prices attendant thereto, and that is to stop inflating. Such would require a cut in the cost of government--not just a demand for a stop to deficit financing and fiat money to cover the deficit, but enforcement of the steps necessary to see that it is done. Perhaps a 20% limit on the TPI (total personal income) allowable for government spending would be helpful. Otherwise, the question facing this magnificent republic -- which, despite the presence of problems wherein improvement is needed, has the world's richest poor -- will be whether she can survive the demoralization attendant to the disappearance of trusted money, a task which it has been said no civilization has heretofore been able to do.

1/ One hears of house prices escalating by $10,000 or more within a year, making it impossible for the non-privileged hoipolli to contemplate the kind of housing which could have been reality for them prior to entry into the double-digit stage of governmental inflationary policy. Perhaps it is ironic as well as cruel the higher cost of less increases the assessed value and tax liability of existence space. A couple with a $25,000 home and retiring on $10,000 a year a decade ago would have been truly affluent. Walton, giving a comparative illustration, cites taxes of $325 per year in contrast to $940 a year; fuel bill increase of from $150 a year to $75 per month; a property tax that has more than doubled and an assessed value that has doubled. Homes are being made a speculator's sport wherein some with no intention of selling are hard pressed to pay the taxes per se because of alleged value *if* it were put on the market. Russ Walton, "Inflation is Killing America," *One Nation, Under God* (Washington: Third Century Pub., 1975), pp.229-30. Rodgers, commenting on the "Proposition 13" rebellion observes that part of the problem in California "largely resulted from bloated real estate values brought on in party by double digit inflation...in many areas the high cost of /local/ government resulted from inflated salaries brought about by pressure from public unions, and ridiculous retirements plans making it possible for public employees to retire when practically teenagers and to receive pensions for a much longer period than they worked...and this is...one of the reasons for the Brobdingnagian cost of national defense." Gaines Rodgers, "The Dean's Corner," *Mississippi Business Review* (Jan., 1979), p. 11. 2/ "Inflation: How You Are Being Robbed," U.S. News & World Report (April 24,1978), pp.18-19. 3/ Boetz has pointed out that the strategy of meeting a simultaneous falling of business volume (depression) by price and wage maintenance policies is a "dog chasing its tail" and a "prime example of the madness of the human race." Maintenance of prices makes it impossible for inventories to be cleared and goods to move into the hands of consumers and interrupt the downward spiral of reduced volume, reduced employment, and further reduced volume. Billy

Boetz, "The Mad Depression Revisited," Intellect (Jan.,1976), p.309. 4/ Rodgers, op.cit., p. 10. Rodgers observes: "Those who have striven to make their way and set aside at great sacrifice for old age have been badly mistreated. In the past few years, one-half of their life's savings has been confiscated through a Federal government-created inflation, just as much as if Congress had directly levied against them..."Ibid. 5/ Gaines M. Rodgers, "The Dean's Corner," Ms.Bs.Rv.(Oct.,1978). This article is an excellent synopsis of the why of inflation and responsibility for it. 6/ "Inflation Sets Breakneck Pace," The Commercial Appeal (Memphis,Tn) Oct.13,1978,p.1. 7/ CBN Program. 8/ R & D Economic Comment (4/78). 9/ Eric Green, "The Battle Against Inflation," CAA Reporter (July, 1978). 10/ Walton, p. 236. 11/ P. E. Gresham, "Liberty for Older Americans," Freeman, 28 (Oct.,1978), p. 603. 12/ The Federal Reserve may increase the supply of money through a change in the fractional reserve required of banks. Also, to finance deficit spending, the Treasury sells security notes. It prints money, delivers that to the Federal Reserve, and the Federal Reserve buys the securities. "The whole process is nothing but 'creating' money out of thin air." Walton, p. 237. 13/ Ibid., p. 238. 14/ Union rapacity against other consumers against whom their demands are made accounts for some of the upward push on money wage-rates, but does not account for the inflationary spiral. Even so, the union pressure is to a large degree brought about by governmental policy. "Since it has become the generally accepted doctrine that it is the duty of the monetary authorities to provide enough credit to secure full employment, whatever the wage level... the power of the unions to push up money wages cannot but lead to continuous, progressive inflation." Henry Hazlitt, The Inflation Crisis, and How to Resolve It (New Rochelle, N.Y.: Arlington House,1978), pp.25-26; 15/ "Even to the extent civilian goods were really short in time of war, the shortage would not cause any substantial rise in prices if taxes took away as large a percentage of civilian income as rearmament took away civilian goods." Ibid., p. 15. 16/ Government is also the agent of much of the monetary price rise. "In its zeal to do something for consumers, and about inflation, the Administration has raised price supports for milk (despite the surplus that was being created by the old, lower price supports), increasing its cost by six cents a gallon. It has also cut back on imports of inexpensive shoes, in an endeavor to motivate the poor to lead healthier, barefoot lives...the Administration is boosting the price of sinful sugar by four cents a pound. Consumer advocates, why haven't we heard from you now that we need you?" Yale Brozen, "A Year of Jimmy Carter at Home," National Review (Feb.3,1978), p. 143. 17/ Jack Van Impe, "America's Crumbling Dollar," JVIC Newsletter, 8 (May, 1978). 18/ Hazlitt, p. 59. 19/ Ibid., p. 64. 20/ One of the misunderstand features of union coercion is that extortions of higher than market wages are extracted from other laborers rather than from management. Union rapacity is not the only cause of inflationry pressure. For example, corporate profits during 1978 increased by 26.4%, the biggest jump in nearly three decades, leading "the administration's chief inflation fighter to suggest that the very large increases in profits of corporations "will strengthen the widespread belief that many American businesses aren't assuming their full responsibility to fight inflation" and that the profits leap had put the nation's businesses "on trial in the eyes of the American people." "Industry Profits Surge and Bring New Fears for Inflation Fighters," The Commercial Appeal (Memphis,Tn.) (March 21, 1979), p. 1. However, it is government alone, not businesses, which has the power to expand the currency. 21/ "Indexing" refers to a raising of wages by the same percentage as the increase in consumer prices. "The advocates of indexing appeal to a class interest...You haven't got your 'fair share'; you are being cheated, and only indexing will save you. Powerful pressure groups push for a kind of indexing calculated to benefit them at the expense of everybody else...The strong unions, for example want to keep abreast of price increases as a minimum....Indexing would force wages up, and keep them up, on a rachet principle." Hazlitt, pp. 131-33. Hazlitt notes that "those who are already overprotected by indexing are retired federal employees. Lately congressmen have been voting themselves all sorts of catch-up raises. This," Hazlitt writes, "is the most ironic indexing, and the most ominous of all. If those who are responsible for permitting or producing the inflation are allowed to become the profiteers from inflation, to whom can we look to end it?" Ibid., p. 134. The answer, it might be suggested, is, for effective purpose, no one, but, we can be certain the system will end itself in its own destruction (see text discussion of stage three of the inflationary cycle). Twice yearly federal pensions are adjusted for costs-of-living. Not only are federal workers exempt from social security taxation, they are paid more handsomely than employees in private industry. Should a government employee retire at age 55 with a pension of $20,000, assuming only 6.5% inflation for the next 22 years, the built-in increases would make his take $80,000 yearly. Review of the News, 15 (Jan. 13, 1979), p. 57. 22/ Hazlitt observes that in a redistributive society groups expecting to benefit at the expense of someone else "acquire a vested interest in maintaining inflation" and what he calls "the delusion that we can beat the game--that we can increase our own incomes faster than our living costs. So there is a great deal of hypocrisy in the outcry against inflation. Many of us are shouting in effect: 'Hold down everybody's price and income except my own.'" P. 40. 23/ Gary North, "The Squeeze...," Tentmakers, 2 (Jan./Feb.,1979), p. 1. 24/ Walton, pp. 245-46. 25/ For discussion of the difference between those who "simply did not know what they were doing" and "failed to recognize the unholy power of the 'new' economics and the 'new' politics" and those for whom inflation was knowingly selected as the method to a political end, see Walton, pp. 246-47. For discussion of inflation as deliberate policy to alter the conomic and political system, see Garrett Garet, The People's Pottage (Caxton Printers). According to Walton, expansion of government in the depression and post-depression era required "freedom from the conventional limitations of money" achieved by "inflation for premeditated political purpose." P. 248. 26/ North, p. 1. 27/ Hazlitt, pp. 130-37. 28/ Gaines M. Rodgers, "The Dean's Corner," Mississippi Business Review (Oct., 1978), p. 14. 29/ Economic Comment. 30/ "Foreword" to Connaught Marshner, Blackboard Tyranny (New Rochelle: Arlington House, 1978), p. 11. 31/ Rodgers, p. . 32/ Garret Garet, quoted in Walton, p. 247. 33/ Constantino Bresciani-Turroni, quoted in Hazlitt, pp. 70-71. 34/ Hans Sennholz, "You Cannot Get Even," Biblical Economics Today, 1 (June/July 1978), p. 3. 35/ Dean Sagar, "Rough Times Predicted," CAA Reporter (Sept., 1978). 36/ Walton, p. 265. 37/ Rose is correct that "The popular definition of inflation as 'rising prices' is both inaccurate and misleading. It hides a clear-cut cause-effect pattern and thereby confuses people as to what must be done to cure the problem." However, as Rose points out, "Prices are rising today because some agency has been increasing the supply of money in the past." Once cause-effect is recognized, this directs attention toward the cure. The national government has control over the money supply through the quasi-governmental Federal Reserve System. Congress spends money which it does not have by moneytizing government bonds through the Federal Reserve and injecting this deficit money into the economy via government spending, causing prices to spiral upward. Rose claims that once this process is understood, it becomes clear that rising prices cannot be caused by "grasping businessmen" or even "militant unions, but that persistently rising prices are caused by the government money-creators themselves! The problem of rising

STATISTICAL APPENDIX B: AUXILLIARY STATISTICAL DATA

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND CHANGE IN POOR PERSONS IN MISSISSIPPI, 1959, 1969, AND 1975

	1959	1969		1975	CHANGE	
	No.	No.		No.	1959-75	1969-75
Poor Persons	1,172,919	766,605	-406,414	607,000	-565,919	-159,605
White	391,910	242,628	-149,282	192,000	-199,910	- 50,628
Nonwhite	781,009	523,977	-257,032	415,000	-366,009	-108,977

Source: 1970 Census of Population. Supplementary Report PC(SI) 105, "Poverty Status in 1969 and 1959 of Persons and Families: for States, SMSA's, Central Cities, and Counties: 1970 and 1960 (December, 1975), p. 1; *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 112, "Money Income and Poverty Status in 1975 of Families and Persons in the United States and the Southern Region, by Divisions and States (Spring 1976 Survey of Income and Education," (June, 1978), p. 179.

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prices can be cured only by eliminating the cause of the spiralling prices, that is, by eliminating government deficits that are monetized via the Federal Reserve System...the real problem is simply too much government spending. Tom Rose, "Inflation...," *Biblical Economics Today*, 1 (Dec.-Jan., 1978-79), p. 3. Cf.: Beryl W. Sprinkel, "Inflation: Its Cause and Cure," *Annals*, 326 (November, 1959), p. 132.

TABLE 2

POPULATION CHANGE AND COMPONENTS, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970-1975

	1970% Distribution*		1975% Distribution*		Change		Components of Change			
									Net Migration	
Population	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Births*	Deaths*	No.	%
Total	2,217.	100.0	2,341.	100.0	123.6	5.6	241.4	123.3	5.5	0.3
White	1,394.	62.9	1,489.5	63.6	95.5	6.9	125.2	74.2	44.5	3.2
Blacks	815.8	36.8	840.5	35.9	24.7	3.0	115.1	48.8	-41.5	-5.1
Other	7,500.	0.3	11.	0.5	NA	NA	1.4	0.3	NA	NA

*Thousands

Source: Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Seires p. 26, No. 67 (February, 1978), pp. 11-15.

TABLE 3

PERSONS IN FAMILIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	1969	1975	Change
Total in Families	2,032,362	2,151,000	+119,000
Percent Male Heads	86%	83%	--
Percent Female Heads	14%	17%	--
Nonpoor in Families	1,350,608	1,634,000	+283,000
Percent of Total	66%	76%	--
Male Headed	92%	90%	--
Female Headed	8%	10%	--
Poor in Families	681,754	517,000	-165,000
Percent of Total	34%	24%	--
Male Headed	73%	60%	--
Female Headed	27%	40%	--

Source: CPR, Series P-60, No. 112

TABLE 4

PERCENT OF POOR, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1959, 1969, AND 1975

	Percent of Poor Persons		
	1959	1969	1975
Total Poor	100%	100%	100%
White	33.4	31.6	31.6
Nonwhite	66.6	68.4	68.4

Source: Same as Table 1.

TABLE 5

PERCENT OF PERSONS IN POVERTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1959, 1969, 1975

	1959	1969	1975
Poor Persons	54.5	35.4	26.1
White	31.8	17.9	12.7
Nonwhite	84.9	64.8	50.3

Source: Same as Table 1.

TABLE 6

SEX COMPOSITION OF THE AGED POOR, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

	Number	Percent of Total
Aged Poor	119,657	100.0
Male	49,722	41.6
Female	69,935	58.4

Source: Same as Table 1.

TABLE 7

FAMILIES IN POVERTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1959, 1969, AND 1975

	1959		1969		1975	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Below Poverty	240,036	47.9	154,254	28.9	122,000	20.4
Female Head	44,541	72.4	41,571	57.9	48,000	47.1
Head 65+	51,651	64.2	43,345	49.5	23,000	23.0
Nonwhite	145,001	81.8	94,729	59.1	76,000	45.0

Source: Same as Table 1.

TABLE 8

RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18 IN POVERTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	NUMBER		PERCENT	
AGE	1969	1975	1969	1975
Under 18	345,648	260,130	41.3	32.8
Under 3	49,172	41,410	40.0	34.3
Age 3-4	34,797	NA	41.3	NA
Age 5-17	261,679	194,340	41.5	32.6
Age 5	18,792	NA	41.3	NA
Age 6-13	164,161	NA	41.9	NA
Age 14-17	78,726	65,790	40.8	33.9

Source: 1970 Census of Population. Supplemental Report PC(SI) - 105, p.4; SIE, 1976.

TABLE 9

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS BELOW POVERTY LEVEL, AND PERCENT BELOW SPECIFIED POVERTY LEVEL, BY AREA, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

			% Below Specified Poverty Level			
	Number	Percent	75%	125%	150%	200%
Farm	52	26.0	16.9	33.9	41.8	54.1
Nonfarm	555	27.1	20.3	33.3	48.0	57.0
Metro	94	26.1	13.6	25.6	34.2	48.3
Central Cities	55	19.3	12.4	24.0	33.8	47.6
Suburbs	39	21.2	15.4	27.9	35.0	49.4
Nonmetro	513	31.6	18.1	35.9	44.4	55.8

Source: 1976 SIE

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES BELOW SPECIFIED MULTIPLIERS OF THE POVERTY INDEX BY FAMILY SIZE, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Families By Size	Total Poverty	Below Specified Poverty Level			
		75%	125%	150%	200%
Total Persons					
Two	19.7	9.0	25.6	33.8	45.2
Three	13.8	9.5	18.7	26.3	40.2
Four	16.2	9.3	23.2	27.7	41.3
Five	19.7	10.0	27.8	37.0	52.8
Six	30.1	24.9	44.3	58.9	66.2
Seven	56.1	45.1	66.9	78.0	86.9

Source: 1976 SIE

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES IN SPECIFIED INCOME CATEGORIES BY SIZE OF FAMILY, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Persons in Family	Under $2,000		$12,000-$19,999		Above $25,000	
	Incidence[1]	Total[2]	Incidence[1]	Total[2]	Incidence[1]	Total[2]
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Two	4	34	21	29	6	27
Three	4	23	22	21	9	27
Four	2	11	31	27	12	31
Five	3	8	32	14	9	11
Six +	9	23	21	10	5	6

[1] Percent incidence; % of families in specified income category for family size.

[2] Percent of total families in that income category.

Source: 1976 SIE

TABLE 12

NUMBER AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS IN POVERTY, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

POOR	NUMBER 1969	NUMBER 1975	PERCENT 1969	PERCENT 1975
Total Persons	766,605	607,230	35.4	26.1
Persons 65+	117,868	91,170	54.5	37.0
Persons in Families	686,962	517,200	33.8	24.0
Children under 18	353,240	260,130	41.2	32.8

Source: 1970, U. S. Census; 1975, SIE

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL PERSONS IN POVERTY BY SPECIFIED CATEGORIES, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

CATEGORY	PERCENT OF TOTAL 1969	PERCENT OF TOTAL 1975
Poor Persons	100%	100%
Under 65	85%	85%
65 and beyond	15%	15%
In Families	90%	85%
Unrelated Individuals	10%	15%
Family Headship	100%	100%
Male Headed	73%	60%
Female Headed	27%	40%
Unrelated Individuals	100%	100%
Male	31%	29%
Female	69%	71%

Source: Same as Table 12.

TABLE 14

NONINSTITUTIONALIZED POOR, NUMBER, PERCENT, AND NATIONAL RANK, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

All Poor			Aged Poor		
Number	U.S. Rank	% of U.S. Poor	Number	U.S. Rank	% of U.S. Poor
766,605	14	2.8	117,868	18	2.3

Source: Herbert Brotman and Blanche S. Williams, "Poverty By State and Ethnic Group, 1969," Facts and Figures on Older Americans. DHEW Pub. No. (OHD/AoA) 73-20009 (July, 1973).

TABLE 15

RURAL-URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF NONINSTITUTIONALIZED AGED POOR, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

(thousands)

		Rural		
	Urban	Total	NonFarm	Farm
Number	40	78	63	15
% of Total	34	66	53	13

Source: DHEW Pub. No. (HUD/AoA) 73-20009.

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF AGED POPULATION BY RESIDENCE, RACE, AND POVERTY STATUS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969

Aged Population	Total	White	(thousands) Nonwhite
Total			
Non Poor	217	138	79
Poor	118	60	58
Urban			
Non Poor	89	57	32
Poor	40	19	21
Rural			
Non Poor	128	81	47
Poor	78	41	37
Rural Nonfarm			
Non Poor	98	62	36
Poor	63	34	29
Rural Farm			
Non Poor	30	19	11
Poor	15	7.5	7.5

Source: DHEW Pub. No. (OHD/AoA) 73-20009.

TABLE 17

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PERSONS IN FAMILIES BY POVERTY STATUS AND SEX OF FAMILY HEAD, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	1969				1975			
	Male Headed		Female Headed		Male Headed		Female Headed	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	1,752,793	100.0	279,569	100.0	1,779,000	100.0	372,000	100.0
Non Poor	1,252,843	72	97,765	35	1,469,000	83	165,000	44
Poor	499,950	28	181,804	65	310,000	17	207,000	56

Source: CPR, Series P-60, No. 112.

TABLE 18

NUMBER OF UNRELATED PERSONS BY SEX AND POVERTY STATUS, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	1969			1975		
	Total	Poor	Non Poor	Total	Poor	Non Poor
Total	131,993	79,776	52,217	173,000	90,000	83,000
Male	48,078	24,974	23,204	64,000	24,000	40,000
Female	83,915	54,802	29,113	109,000	64,000	43,000

Source: CPR, Series P-60, No. 112.

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF AGED UNRELATED PERSONS, PERCENT OF TOTAL FOR SPECIFIED CATEGORIES, AND NUMBER AND PERCENT POOR, BY SEX, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	1969				1975			
	Number	% of all unrelated persons*	Number	%	Number	% of all unrelated persons*	Number	%
Total	56,859	43	43,286	76.1	71,000	41	47,000	67
Male	14,964	31	11,039	73.8	15,000	23	10,000	6.7
Female	41,896	50	32,247	77.0	56,000	51	37,000	66

% of all unrelated persons in that category (i.e., total, male, female) age 65 or worse.

Source: CPR, Series P-60, No. 112.

Note: The proportion of aged among the total number of unrelated persons in Mississippi decreased slightly (from 43% to 41%). The proportion of aged among unrelated females increased slightly. Whereas only 23% of the unrelated males in Mississippi in 1975 were aged, over one-half of the unrelated females were aged.

TABLE 20

SURVIVORS TO AGE 21 AND AGE 65 PER COHORT OF 100,000 BIRTHS UNDER ASSUMPTIONS OF A STATIONARY POPULATION FOR AGE - SPECIFIC MORTALITY RATES AT SPECIFIED TIMES, MISSISSIPPI

AGE AND	TOTAL			WHITE			NONWHITE		
DATE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
AGE 21									
1929-1931	87,464	NA	NA	90,060	NA	NA	85,189	NA	NA
1939-1941	90,688	89,892	91,403	92,495	91,567	93,224	89,120	88.426	89,826
1949-1951	93,922	93,105	94,772	95,545	94,809	96,333	92,516	91,622	93,434
1959-1961	94,357	93,619	95,122	96,184	95,568	96,844	92,742	91,852	93,643
1969-1971	95,310	94,401	96,249	96,482	95,692	97,315	94,023	92,944	95,110
AGE 65									
1929-1931	46,747	NA	NA	59,312	NA	NA	36,626	NA	NA
1939-1941	53,734	51,038	56,377	65,664	60,052	71,215	42,162	41,937	42,410
1949-1951	62,771	58,704	67,102	71,785	65,094	79,150	51,753	50,607	52,953
1959-1961	67,710	61,248	74,284	73,844	65,555	82,691	58,942	54,736	62,851
1969-1971	67,206	58,509	76,124	71,952	62,359	82,119	58,235	50,473	65,521

Source: Abridged Life Tables for Mississippi 1969-1971 (Jackson: Mississippi State Board of Health, 1974), p. 12

TABLE 21

AGE AT WHICH EQUAL NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF A GIVEN COHORT ALIVE AND DECEASED, SPECIFIED TIMES, MISSISSIPPI LIFE TABLE

	TOTAL			WHITE			NONWHITE		
DATE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1929-1931	62.89	NA	NA	69.20	NA	NA	55.77	NA	NA
1939-1941	67.08	65.56	68.80	71.75	69.45	73.92	60.84	60.82	60.86
1949-1951	71.32	69.24	73.49	74.52	71.58	77.35	66.01	65.32	66.83
1959-1961	73.34	70.21	76.76	75.68	71.73	79.46	69.71	67.36	71.83
1969-1971	73.12	68.79	77.57	75.01	70.12	79.75	69.48	65.25	73.08

Source: Same as Table, p. 10

TABLE 22

LIFE EXPECTANCY AT SPECIFIED AGES, BY RACE AND SEX, MISSISSIPPI 1969-1971

	TOTAL			WHITE			NONWHITE		
AGE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
0	68.30	64.24	72.63	70.66	66.26	75.52	64.20	60.37	67.92
1	69.25	65.31	73.44	71.02	66.70	75.77	65.70	62.01	69.23
2	68.38	64.44	72.56	70.09	65.76	74.84	64.87	61.20	68.38
5	65.56	61.63	69.73	67.23	62.91	71.96	62.10	58.44	65.60
10	60.75	56.84	64.89	62.40	58.10	67.12	57.30	53.67	60.76
15	55.93	52.05	60.02	57.56	53.29	62.24	52.49	48.89	55.91
20	51.31	47.56	55.24	52.94	8.82	57.43	47.86	44.36	51.15
25	46.80	49.24	50.53	48.34	44.35	52.67	43.52	40.32	46.52
30	42.32	38.92	45.86	43.72	39.86	47.90	39.34	36.46	42.06
35	37.81	34.53	41.23	39.06	35.29	43.12	35.18	32.52	37.69
40	33.43	30.27	36.72	34.49	30.83	38.43	31.21	28.78	33.54
45	29.22	26.19	32.37	30.11	26.59	33.86	27.43	25.16	29.64
50	25.24	22.41	28.16	25.94	22.63	29.44	23.87	21.87	25.84
55	21.49	18.90	24.13	22.05	19.01	25.18	20.45	18.64	22.24
60	17.95	15.68	20.20	18.35	15.63	21.05	17.23	15.74	18.69
65	14.71	12.81	16.50	14.97	12.72	17.07	14.25	12.96	15.50
70	11.73	10.24	13.07	11.89	10.15	13.38	11.44	10.40	12.45
75	9.18	8.11	10.07	9.17	7.91	10.15	9.19	8.46	9.88

Source: Same as Table 21, p. 8.

TABLE 23

LEADING CAUSES OF DEATH, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1970

DEATH RATE, 1970					
White			Non-White		
1.	Heart Disease	360.8	1.	Heart Disease	319.2
2.	Neoplasms	155.8	2.	Cerbrv	158.7
3.	Cerbrv	120.7	3.	Unknown	149.3
4.	Accidents	79.9	4.	Neoplasms	138.6
5.	Vehicle	44.4	5.	Accidents	86.7
6.	Unknown	40.6	6.	Influenza and Pneumonia	42.6
	Influenza and Pneumonia	26.2			
7.	Diabetes	16.6	7.	Vehicle	38.7
8.	Arteriosc.	14.0	8.	Murder	28.9
9.	Diseases of Early Infancy	12.2	9.	Dibetes	27.8
10.	Suicide	9.5	10.	Diseases of Early Infancy	17.8

Source: Vital Statistics Mississippi, 1970 (Jackson: Mississippi State Board of Health), p. 104.

TABLE 24

DEATHS AND PERCENT OF TOTAL DEATHS FROM TEN LEADING CAUSES, BY CAUSE AND RACE MISSISSIPPI, 1976

Cause and International Classification Number	NUMBER			PERCENT		
	Total	White	Non-White	Total	White	Non-White
Total of ten leading causes	18,019	11,555	6,464	77.9	80.8	73.3
1. Heart diseases (390-398, 402, 404-429)	7,686	5,204	2,482	33.2	36.4	28.2
2. Malignant neoplasms (140-209)	3,733	2,494	1,239	16.1	17.4	14.0
3. Cerebrovascular diseases (430-438)	2,789	1,665	1,124	12.1	11.6	12.7
4. Accidents (800-949)	1,476	926	550	6.4	6.5	6.2
5. Influenza and pneumonia (470-486)	680	433	247	2.9	3.0	2.8
6. Certain causes of mortality in early infancy (760-778)	454	176	278	2.0	1.2	3.2
7. Diabetes mellitus (250)	377	182	195	1.6	1.3	2.2
8. Homicide (960-978)	308	82	226	1.3	0.6	2.6
9. Arteriosclerosis (440)	281	193	88	1.2	1.3	1.0
10. Bronchitis, emphysema, asthma (490-493)	235	200	35	1.0	1.4	0.4

Source: Statistical Services Unit, Mississippi State Board of Health.

TABLE 25

PERCENT OF MISSISSIPPI POPULATION WITH INCOME BELOW SPECIFIED RATIO OF POVERTY INDEX, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

	BELOW SPECIFIED POVERTY LEVEL				
RACE	75%	100%	125%	150%	200%
White	7.4	12.7	18.4	24.8	37.5
Black	34.7	50.3	61.6	73.9	84.5

Source: CRR, Series P-60, No. 112.

TABLE 26

MEAN SIZE OF FAMILY, TOTAL AND BELOW SPECIFIED POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

		TOTAL POVERTY	BELOW SPECIFIED POVERTY LEVEL			
	Total	100%	75%	125%	150%	200%
Average Family Size	3.60	4.25	4.71	4.22	4.16	3.99

Source: CPR, No. 112.

TABLE 27

MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN UNDER EIGHTEEN, TOTAL AND BELOW SPECIFIED POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

			BELOW SPECIFIED POVERTY LEVEL			
	Total	Poverty	75%	125%	150%	200%
Average Number of Children	2.21	3.08	3.37	2.94	2.87	2.65

Source: CRR, No. 112.

TABLE 28

PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH INCOMES BELOW POVERTY LEVELS, BY NUMBER OF UNRELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	TOTAL 1969 INCOME BELOW POVERTY LEVEL		
FAMILY STATUS	Male Headed	Female Headed	1975
No Related Children Under 18	24.7	37.0	15.5
With Related Children Under 18	24.3	67.4	23.7
1 Related Child	15.1	52.3	15.2
2 Related Children	16.0	60.0	17.4
3 Related Children	23.2	69.9	27.3
4 Related Children	35.6	80.6	NA
5 Related Children	51.5	89.0	64.7
6 or more Related Children	69.2	90.2	NA
Average Number of Related Children	2.20		2.74

Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1970; CPR, No. 112.

TABLE 29

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL AND POOR POPULATIONS, SPECIFIED AGE AND SEX CATEGORIES, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Category	White		Black	
	Total	Poor	Total	Poor
Persons	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Below 65	89.7	79.6	88.9	87.5
65 and Beyond	10.3	20.4	11.1	12.5
In Families	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male Headed	92.5	79.6	64.6	52.0
Female Headed	7.5	20.7	35.4	47.8

Source: 1976 SIE

TABLE 30

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POOR POPULATION, BY RACIAL CATEGORY, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Category	Total	White	Black
Total Persons	100.0	28.7	68.3
Persons 65 and Beyond	100.0	42.5	56.7
Unrelated Individuals	100.0	44.0	55.2
Male	100.0	34.9	65.1
Female	100.0	47.7	51.2
In Families			
Male Head	100.0	38.6	61.4
Female Head	100.0	14.8	84.2

Source: 1976 SIE

TABLE 31

NUMBER OF POOR,[1] SEVERELY POOR,[2] AND NEAR POOR,[3] FAMILIES AND PERSONS, BY RACE MISSISSIPPI POPULATION, 1969

	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
CATEGORY	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
POOR						
Families	154,254	28.9	59,525	15.9	94,148	59.2
Persons	766,605	35.4	242,628	17.9	520,746	64.9
SEVERLY POOR						
Families	112,460	21.0	39,336	10.5	72,692	45.7
Persons	572,355	26.4	162,823	12.1	407,132	50.7
NEAR POOR						
Families	193,409	36.2	82,065	21.9	110,676	69.6
Persons	932,575	43.1	329,348	24.3	599,480	74.6

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[1] Income less than 100% of poverty level.

[2] Income less than 75% of poverty level.

[3] Income less than 125% of poverty level.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, General Social and Economic Characteristics Final Report PC (1) - C26, Mississippi, p. 26-168.

TABLE 32

NUMBER*AND PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS BELOW CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL AND BELOW 125% OF CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

Persons	Total	Below Current Poverty Level Number	Below Current Poverty Level Percent	Below 125% of Current Poverty Level Number	Below 125% of Current Poverty Level Percent
TOTAL	232456	60723	26.1	78694	33.9
65 Years and Over	24643	9117	37.0	11945	48.5
IN FAMILIES	215119	81720	24.0	68516	31.9
Head	59720	12198	20.4	16293	27.3
Related Children under 18	79315	26013	32.8	32636	41.1
Less than 3 years	12080	4141	34.3	5052	41.8
3 to 5 years	11617	3723	32.0	4484	38.6
6 to 13 years	36206	11570	32.0	14655	40.5
14 and 15 years	10075	3363	33.4	4324	42.4
16 and 17 years	9337	3216	34.4	4122	44.2
5 to 17 years	59600	19434	32.6	24522	41.1
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	17337	9003	51.9	10178	58.7
MALE	6455	2578	39.9	2895	44.9
FEMALE	10882	6425	59.0	7283	66.9
PERSONS IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD					
TOTAL	177948	31012	17.4	44259	24.9
65 years and older	13695	3268	23.9	4912	35.9
HEAD	49568	7413	15.0	10521	21.2
Related Children Under 18	62222	13456	21.6	18783	30.2
Less than 3 years	9819	2036	20.7	2887	29.4
3 to 5 years	8738	1626	18.6	2239	25.6
6 to 13 years	28566	5842	20.5	8341	29.2
14 and 15 years	8064	2087	25.9	2817	34.9
16 and 17 years	7035	1865	26.5	2500	35.5
5 to 17 years	46683	10424	22.3	14424	30.9

*In tens

PERSONS IN FAMILIES
WITH FEMALE HEAD

TOTAL	37172	20708	55.7	24257	65.3
65 Years and Over	3394	694	20.4	1310	38.6
HEAD	10152	4784	47.1	5772	56.9
Related Children Under 18	17093	2557	73.5	13854	81.0
Less than 3 years	2261	2105	93.1	2165	95.7
3 to 5 years	2879	2097	72.8	2245	78.0
6 to 13 years	7640	5728	75.0	6314	82.6
14 and 15 years	2011	1276	63.5	1507	74.9
5 to 17 years	12917	9010	69.8	10098	78.2

Source: 1976 SIE.

TABLE 33

NUMBER* AND PERCENTAGE OF WHITE PERSONS BELOW CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL AND BELOW 125% OF CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

		Below Current Poverty Level		Below 125% of Current Poverty Level	
Persons	Total	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
TOTAL	148,941	18,988	12.7	27,436	18.4
65 Years and Over	15,380	3,878	25.2	5,631	36.7
IN FAMILIES	138,975	15,023	10.8	22,730	16.4
HEAD	42,613	4,603	10.8	6,767	15.9
RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18	43,756	5.507	12.6	8,463	19.3
Less than 3 years	6,287	1,028	16.3	1,284	20.4
3 to 5 years	6,785	935	13.8	1,297	20.4
6 to 13 years	20,115	1,935	9.6	3,587	19.1
14 and 15 years	5,755	880	15.3	1,332	17.8
16 and 17 years	4,815	728	15.2	962	23.1
5 to 17 years	32,987	3,874	11.7	6,260	70.0

UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	9,966	3,965	39.8	4,706	47.2
MALE	3,130	899	28.7	1,045	33.4
FEMALE	6,836	3,066	44.8	3,661	53.5
PERSONS IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD					
TOTAL	128,599	11,961	9.3	19,068	14.8
65 Years and Over	9,953	1.839	18.5	2,991	30.0
HEAD	38,809	3,634	9.4	5,596	14.4
RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18	40,862	3,969	9.7	6,731	16.5
Less Than 3 years	6,084	824	13.5	1,080	17.7
3 to 5 years	6,265	630	10.1	992	15.8
6 to 13 years	18,922	1,286	6.8	2,843	15.0
14 and 15 years	5,318	688	12.9	1,042	19.6
16 and 17 years	4,273	541	12.7	775	18.1
5 to 17 years	30,621	2,696	8.8	4,888	16.0
PERSONS IN FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEAD					
TOTAL	10,376	3,062	29.5	3,662	35.3
65 Years and Over	1,609	103	6.4	355	22.1
HEAD	3,804	969	25.5	1,171	30.1
RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18	2,894	1,537	53.1	1,731	59.8
Less than 3 years	204	204		204	
3 to 5 years	519	305	58.8	305	58.8
6 to 13 years	1,193	649	54.4	745	62.5
14 and 15 years	437	192	43.9	290	66.4
16 and 17 years	541	188	34.7	188	34.7
5 to 17 years	2,366	1,178	49.8	1,372	58.0

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*In tens

Source: 1976 SIE

TABLE 34

NUMBER AND PERCENT OF BLACK PERSONS BELOW CURRENT POVERTY LEVEL, MISSISSIPPI, 1975

All Persons	Total	Below Current Poverty Level Number	Below Current Poverty Level Percent	Below 125% of Current Poverty Level Number	Below 125% of Current Poverty Level Percent
TOTAL	82,457	41,463	50	50,758	62
65 Years and Over	9,153	5,171	57	6,204	68
IN FAMILIES	75,154	38,493	48	45,353	60
HEAD	16,859	7,547	45	9,436	56
RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18	35,215	20,351	57	23,955	68
Less Than 3 Years	5,619	3,065	59	3,720	66
3 to 5 Years	4,778	2,733	56	3,132	55
6 to 13 Years	16,038	9,583	60	11,015	69
14 and 15 Years	4,258	2,483	58	2,929	53
16 and 17 Years	4,522	2,488	55	3,160	77
5 to 17 Years	26,497	15,508	58	18,146	68
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	7,302	4,970	68	5,404	74
MALE	3,325	1,679	51	1,850	55
FEMALE	3,978	3,291	83	3,554	90
PERSONS IN FAMILIES WITH MALE HEAD					
TOTAL	,563	19,051	39	24,963	51
65 Years and Over	3,700	1,429	38	1,879	50
HEAD	10,560	3,779	36	4,683	44
RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18	21,172	9,486	45	11,989	57
Less Than 3 Years	3,610	1,212	33	1,806	50
3 to 5 Years	2,473	996	40	1,247	50
6 to 13 Years	9,644	4.556	48	5,498	50
14 and 15 Years	2,684	1,399	52	1,712	59
16 and 17 Years	2,762	1,324	48	1,725	63
5 to 17 Years	15,999	7,728	48	9,473	59

PERSONS IN FAMILIES WITH FEMALE HEAD					
TOTAL	26,591	17,442	65	20,391	77
65 Years and Over	1,785	591	33	956	53
HEAD	6,299	3,767	60	4,553	73
RELATED CHILDREN UNDER 18	14,043	40,864	78	11,967	86
Less Than 3 Years	2,009	1,853	90	1,913	95
3 to 5 Years	2,305	1,737	74	1,885	83
6 to 13 Years	6,394	5,027	78	5,517	86
14 and 15 Years	1,574	1,084	69	1,217	75
16 and 17 Years	1,760	1,164	61	1,435	78
5 to 17 Years	10,498	7,779	74	8,673	83

TABLE 35

TOTAL LABOR FORCE AND UNEMPLOYMENT, BY SEX AND RACE, MISSISSIPPI, ANNUAL AVERAGE, 1977

A. TOTAL CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE	964,000	580,910	383,090
Black	290,110	161,280	128,830
White	673,890	419,630	254,260
B. UNEMPLOYED	71,000	35,290	35,710
Black	36,490	16,610	19,880
White	34,510	18,680	15,830
C. UNEMPLOYED RATE	7.4	6.1	9.3
Black	12.6	10.3	15.4
White	5.1	4.5	6.2
D. EMPLOYED	893,000	545,620	347,380
Black	253,620	144,670	108,950
White	639,380	400,950	238,430

Source: Mississippi Employment Security Commission.

TABLE 36

INCOME FROM SO-CALLED "TRANSFER PAYMENTS," MISSISSIPPI, 1969-1976

YEAR	AMOUNT (thousands)
1969	570,274
1970	716,039
1971	843,342
1972	929,719
1973	1.097,369
1974	1,359,157
1975	1,619,836
1976	1,803,716

Source: BEA, MS. R&D Center

TABLE 37

TRANSFER PAYMENTS, MISSISSIPPI COUNTIES, 1969 AND 1976

COUNTY	"TRANSFER PAYMENTS" 1969	1976	COUNTY	"TRANSFER PAYMENTS" 1969	1976
	($ thousands)			($ thousands)	
Adams	9,328	29,672	Leflore	11,180	35,176
Alcorn	7,296	22,814	Lincoln	6,829	21,012
Amite	3,176	9,357	Lowndes	10,608	34,979
Attala	6,270	17,807	Madison	7,062	23,178
Benton	1,590	5,482	Marion	6,847	20,687
Bolivar	11,580	34,566	Marshall	4,910	19,369
Calhoun	4,338	12,540	Monroe	8,015	23,785
Carroll	2,223	6,211	Montgomery	4,298	12,515
Chickasaw	5,001	14,171	Neshoba	5,513	16,918
Choctaw	2,420	7,034	Newton	6,909	19,317
Claiborne	2,847	7,836	Noxubee	3,420	10,277
Clarke	4,713	13,344	Oktibbeha	6,211	20,778
Clay	4,535	14,043	Panola	6,516	20,968
Coahoma	10,029	30,152	Pearl River	7,240	24,051
Copiah	7,648	22,214	Perry	2,475	7,630
Covington	4,343	13,386	Pike	9,110	28,469
DeSoto	6,381	23,887	Pontootc	4,595	14,449
Forrest	16,381	51,809	Prentiss	5,253	16,431
Franklin	2,508	7,100	Quitman	3,696	10,238
George	3,291	10,290	Rankin	6,989	26,815
Greene	2,244	7,024	Scott	5,926	18,020
Grenada	5,587	16,093	Sharkey	2,071	6,691
Hancock	4,591	16,057	Simpson	5,618	17,079
Harrison	35,045	123,472	Smith	3,097	9,801
Hinds	53,017	180,373	Stone	2,508	8,952
Holmes	7,305	20,291	Sunflower	8,243	24,442
Humphreys	3,553	10,888	Tallahatchie	4,953	14,459
Issaquena	435	1,356	Tate	3,746	13,184
Itawamba	3,590	11,503	Tippah	4,503	13,794
Jackson	15,982	61,648	Tishomingo	4,750	14,049
Jasper	4,588	12,984	Tunica	3,226	8,027
Jefferson	2,571	8,959	Union	5,167	15,343
Jefferson Davis	3,230	10,091	Walthall	2,928	10,291
Jones	15,956	47,475	Warren	13,010	38,997
Kemper	2,565	8,254	Washington	16,499	52,924
Lafayette	4,810	16,479	Wayne	3,888	12,968
Lamar	4,565	13,575	Webster	3,002	8,492
Lauderdale	23,059	66,333	Wilkinson	2,571	7,695
Lawrence	3,880	11,783	Winston	5,195	16,473
Leake	5,380	15,864	Yalobusha	4,285	12,076
Lee	12,364	37,791	Yazoo	7,197	20,909

TABLE 38

NUMBER AND DECENNIAL PERCENTAGE CHANGE, FARMS AND FARM SIZE MISSISSIPPI, 1930-1974

	NUMBER		SIZE	
YEAR	NUMBER	PERCENT CHANGE	NUMBER ACRES	PERCENT CHANGE
1930	312,663	--	55.4	--
1935	311,683	--	63.1	+13.9
1940	291,092	-6.6	65.9	+ 4.3
1945	263,528	-9.5	74.4	+13.1
1950	251,383	-46.0	82.4	+10.8
1954	215,915	-14.1	95.9	+16.4
1959	138,142	-36.0	134.9	+40.7
1964	109,141	-21.0	162.6	+20.5
1969	72,577	-33.5	211.0	+35.6
1974				

Source: William Stacey, et al., Mississippi Counties: Some Social and Economic Aspects, (Mississippi State University, Sociology and Rural Life Series No. 18, 1966), p. 2; Ellen S. Bryant, Mississippi's Farming and Nonfarming Population a Comparison of Characteristics and Trends 1950 to 1970, (Mississippi State University: MAFES Bulletin 809, 1974), p. 9, U.S. Census of Agriculture, 1974.

TABLE 39

CHARACTERISTICS OF FARM OPERATORS, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-1969

YEAR	% 65 OR OVER	MEDIAN AGE	RESIDENCE (%)	100 OR MORE DAYS OFF FARM WORK (%)
1950	13.1	46.2	2.9	17.5
1954	15.2	48.2	4.3	20.3
1959	18.0	51.2	5.0	29.9
1964	20.1	52.8	7.5	34.0
1969	22.1	54.1	16.6	44.0
1974				

Source: U.S. Censuses of Agriculture

TABLE 40

FAMILIES WITH INCOME BELOW SPECIFIED MULTIPLES OF THE POVERTY LEVEL, BY RACE, MISSISSIPPI, 1969 AND 1975

	1969		1975		
	TOTAL	BLACK	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK
Under .50	12.3	27.8	12.4	5.5	29.8
.50-.74	8.8	17.9			
.75-.99	7.8	13.5	8.0	5.3	15.0
1.00-1.24	7.3	10.4	6.9	5.1	11.2
1.25-1.49	6.9	7.6	7.9	6.1	12.2
1.50-1.99	12.6	9.8	12.0	12.8	11.7
2.00-2.99	19.7	13.0	NA	NA	NA
3.00+	24.7	NA	NA	NA	NA
Above 2.00	44.4	13.0	52.8	65.2	21.1

Source: 1970 Census of Population, Supplementary Report, "Population and Housing Characteristics for the United States, by State: 1970," PC (SI) -29, Tables P-4, P-6; Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 112 (June, 1968), p. 197.

TABLE 41

SPECIFIED CATEGORIES OF "TRANSFER" PAYMENTS, MISSISSIPPI, 1965-1975

	($ MILLION)			
	TOTAL	PUBLIC ASSISTANCE	UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION	RETIREMENT AND OTHER
1965	353	55	8	290
1975	1,620	294	88	1,238

Source: Quarterly Review (October, 1977)

TABLE 42

EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, AND CHANGES, MISSISSIPPI, 1950-70

	1950		1960		1970		1950 to 1970 Change		1960 to 1970 Change	
	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total	Number	Percentage of Total
Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries	305,052	42.5%	146,278	21.4%	53,714	7.5%	-251,338	-82.4%	-92,564	-63.3%
Mining	3,617	0.5	5,969	0.9	7,462	1.0	3,845	106.3	1,493	25.0
Construction	36,455	5.1	44,849	6.6	53,770	7.5	17,315	47.5	8,921	19.9
Manufacturing	90,338	12.6	130,804	19.2	185,869	25.9	95,531	105.8	55,065	42.1
Durable Goods	48,274	6.7	60,928	9.0	97,054	13.5	58,360	20.8	36,126	59.3
Furniture and Lumber and Wood Products	41,453	5.7	34,197	5.0	36,663	5.1	4,790	11.6	2,466	7.2
Metal Industries	1,037	0.1	4,435	0.7	10,803	1.5	9,766	941.8	6,368	143.6
Machinery; Except Electrical	1,320	0.2	3,648	0.6	8,908	1.2	7,588	574.8	5,260	144.2
Electrical Machinery, Equipment and Supplies	460	0.1	4,923	0.7	11,008	1.5	10,548	2,293.0	6,085	123.6
Transportation Equipment	1,124	0.2	7,495	1.1	13,494	1.9	12,370	1,100.5	5,999	80.0
Other Durable Goods	2,880	0.4	6,230	0.9	16,178	2.3	13,298	461.7	9,948	159.7
Nondurable Goods	42,064	5.9	69,876	10.2	88,815	12.4	46,751	11.1	18,939	27.1
Food and Kindred Products	9,046	1.3	16,560	2.4	15,502	2.2	6,456	71.4	- 1,058	- 6.4
Textiles and Fabricated Textile Products	17,142	2.4	32,687	4.8	41,997	5.8	24,855	145.0	9,310	28.5
Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries	2,878	0.4	4,070	0.6	4,074	0.6	1,196	41.6	4	0.1
Chemicals and Allied Products	4,759	0.7	4,178	0.6	5,888	0.8	1,129	23.7	1,710	40.9
Other Nondurable Goods	8,239	1.1	12,381	1.8	21,354	3.0	13,115	159.2	8,973	72.5
Railway and Railroad Express Services	10,169	1.4	6,926	1.0	4,867	0.6	- 5,302	-52.1	- 2,059	-29.7
Trucking Service and Warehousing	4,504	0.6	7,305	1.1	9,044	1.3	4,540	100.8	1,739	23.8
Other Transportation	5,142	0.7	6,856	1.0	8,357	1.2	4,215	82.0	1,501	21.9
Communications	4,275	0.6	5,569	0.8	7,760	1.1	3,485	81.5	2,191	39.3
Utilities and Sanitary Service	6,674	0.9	8,598	1.3	12,834	1.8	6,160	92.3	4,236	49.3
Wholesale Trade	13,601	1.9	17,002	2.5	23,946	3,3	10,345	76.1	6,944	40.8
Food, Bakery and Dairy Stores	18,170	2.5	18,243	2.7	18,845	2.6	675	3.7	602	3.3
Eating and Drinking Places	15,439	2.2	15,275	2.2	14,676	2.0	- 763	- 4.9	- 599	- 3.9
Other Retail Trade	48,382	6.7	60,411	8.9	71,548	9.9	23,166	47.9	11,137	18.4
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	9,127	1.3	15,312	2.2	23,063	3.2	13,936	152.7	7,751	50.6
Business and Repair Services	11,134	1.6	11,435	1.7	15,018	2.1	3,884	34.9	3,583	31.3
Private Households	37,810	5.3	52,090	7.6	29,286	4.1	- 8,524	-22.5	-22,804	-43.8
Other Personal Services	19,265	2.7	21,480	3.1	24,497	3.4	5,232	27.2	3,017	14.0
Entertainment and Recreation Services	3,650	0.5	3,070	0.5	2,869	0.4	- 781	-21.4	- 201	- 6.5
Hospitals	11,926	1.7	13,204	1.9	22,844	3.2	10,918	91.5	9,640	73.0
Educational Services	26,186	3.7	35,997	5.3	62,179	8.6	35,993	137.5	27,182	72.7
Government	22,848	3.2	30,167	4.4	51,618	7.2	28,770	125.9	21,451	71.1
Private	3,338	0.5	5,830	0.9	10,561	1.4	7,223	216.4	4,731	81.1
Welfare, Religious and Nonprofit Organizations	NA		7,283	1.0	10,225	1.4	NA		2,942	40.4
Other Professional and Related Services	17,931	2.5	23,810	3.5	26,463	3.7	8,532	47.6	2,653	11.1
Public Administration	18,004	2.5	24,573	3.6	29,812	4.2	11,808	65.6	5,239	21.5
Total	716,851	100.0%	682,339	100.0%	718,948	100.0%	2,097	0.3%	36,609	5.4%

Source: Jackson City Planning Board, Economic Analysis: Jackson Metropolitan Area (May, 1972), p. 63.